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SOME ASPECTS OF CIVILIZATION IN AMERICA.

No one of the tales in which the Greeks were fond of conveying the lessons of experience in an imaginative form is more poetically and truthfully conceived than the story of Crœsus, including the narrative of Solon's interview with him and their discourse together. "The king," says Herodotus, "dismissed him with coldness, thinking it the height of folly that a man should make no account of present good, but bid men wait to see the end. After Solon had gone away, a great judgment from God fell upon Crœsus,—it is likely for deeming himself the happiest of men."

Not even the wealth of Crœsus was more extraordinary and unexampled, or more conducive to self-delusion, than our national prosperity has been during the century which is just coming to its close. History affords no other such splendid spectacle of material growth and well-being. Beginning the century as a small, weak people, we end it one of the greatest and most powerful nations that the earth has known. We began it on one side of a continent, poor and compelled to frugality; we end it, masters of the continent from ocean to ocean, rich and prodigal. Never before have such vast numbers of men enjoyed such wide-spread peace, comfort, and freedom from fear. The mass of men which from the beginning of human life have been depressed and suffering have here risen swiftly, and without disturbance, into equality of opportunity, freedom from arbitrary restraint, consciousness of individual rights and with power to maintain them. And this is the meaning of modern democracy, of which America has

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set the first example,—the rapid rise to comfort and to power of masses of men. This is what makes America, in spite of the loss of many of the most precious legacies of the past; in spite of the lack of the beauty, the grace, and of that appeal to the poetic imagination which inhere in some portions of the traditional life of the Old World; in spite of the many evils which accompany the new conditions of society,—this equality of opportunity for all men is what makes America dear to her children. It is the land where the sensitive conscience of the man fortunate in his circumstances may be most at ease in his enjoyment, and where the principle of the brotherhood of man is most widely acknowledged as the rule of social order, though for the most part, as yet, only in its crudest forms, and often, indeed, in mistaken and perverted application to the relations of man with man.

But such political, economical, and social conditions as exist here are especially favorable to the growth of popular delusions in respect to their real significance, while to the nourishing of these delusions both nature and science have alike contributed. The advantage of geographical position, and the stimulus to effort afforded by the open continent with its immeasurable natural resources; the rapid progress of discovery and invention, giving to man immensely increased control of the forces of nature; the opportunity afforded by the novel conditions of life for the instant and general application of the new knowledge to the promotion of his material well-being,—have all coincided to quicken his intelligence and his energy; but they have also tended to exaggerate his sense of mastery over the world and fate. The American has become apt to ascribe to his own capacity and to his institutions blessings which are in large measure the free gift of nature or the consequences of the increase of knowledge. He has become, not merely an optimist, but to a great degree a fatalist.

While this tendency to exaggerated self-confidence has its source partially in the general addition to the resources and powers of man through the increase of knowledge, it may seem like a paradox to say that its force has been confirmed by the increasing proportions of popular ignorance. But the ignorant lack the sense of measure and proportion, and are prone to unwarranted self-satisfaction. The enormous growth in our population having been largely due to the immigration of the lower and most ignorant people of the Old World, the century closes not only with a numerically greater, but also a proportionately larger part of our community in a state of ignorance than that with which it began. The necessity of popular education for the

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maintenance of free institutions has been, indeed, a fundamental doctrine with us, and an article of the popular creed. But, as is so often the case, the existence of the theoretic article of faith affords no evidence of its effectiveness as a rule of life. And in spite of constant and serious effort to promote popular education, it is a simple delusion that the system of free schools established throughout the United States, and in which confidence is reposed as the main bulwark of the Republic, is sufficient to stem the flood of ignorance, or to secure such education of the people as shall make them capable of intelligent self-government. The theory is, that every child in America should have such schooling as will make him capable of using the opportunities for well-being which life affords, and of performing the duties of a citizen. The fact is that large numbers of children grow up with little or no schooling, and that even where the schools are most efficient and the attendance upon them most general, they are ineffectual instruments for providing the required education. It is a fallacy to suppose that any schools, however good they may be, can educate. Their work is to give instruction, and, as Bishop Butler said long ago in a memorable phrase, "Instruction is the least part of education." The education which shapes a child for his duties as a man and a citizen is mainly that which he gains from the influences of his home and of the community to which he belongs. If these be good, the instruction which the school may give may confirm them and add to them; but if they are bad, the school can do little to counteract them. The school may enforce some mental discipline, may cultivate some intellectual tastes, may instruct in the means for obtaining a livelihood. But in the great majority of the free schools in the United States little is done to train the judgment, to quicken the imagination, to refine and elevate the moral intelligence of the pupils. The work of the school has no direct tendency to prepare the child to become a good and intelligent citizen. In spite of our free-school system, ignorance has increased and is increasing among us.

This truth is in part obscured by the fact that the liberal opportunities and the political and social institutions of the country have an immense and rapid effect in raising the ignorant, whether of foreign or native birth, in the scale of material civilization. But the character ingrained by a long inheritance of ignorance and semi-barbarism is seldom to be essentially modified in the course of a single generation. The foreign boss of Tammany Hall, who rules the city of New York, who has assumed the garb of civilization and sits at rich men's feasts,

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is still a semi-barbarian. The free school has not educated him, nor the hordes of his tribal followers. Yet while he and his fellows sell justice, commit daily barratry, practise blackmail, and make a scoff and byword of law, the self-complacent American looks on and says, with an optimism which he flatters himself is the spirit of genuine patriotism: "Oh, it will all come out right. Free education is the safeguard of the Republic."

It is not only the ignorance of the foreign immigrant which is a danger to the commonwealth, but that also of the native-born who are on the outskirts or outside the pale of civilization. The settling of the vast new territory of the United States during the past century has reduced a large section of the most vigorous part of the people to the condition of pioneers and adventurers, who have shared in small measure the advantages of civilization and hardly felt its restraints. Such virtues as their condition may develop are not the civic virtues. Of mere necessity they become ignorant, rude, careless of social obligations, lawless in disposition, and of dull moral sense. They react upon the civilization which advances upon the border line, and imprint upon it something of their own characteristics. Its standards are lowered.

And thus we are brought face to face with the grave problem which the next century is to solve,—whether our civilization can maintain itself, and make advance, against the pressure of ignorant and barbaric multitudes; whether the civilized part of the community is eventually to master the barbaric, or whether it is to be overcome in the struggle. The question is not whether the mere material advantages of civilization are to be lost,—for they attract the barbarian, and it may be assumed that their attractions are sufficient to secure their permanence,—but whether its moral and intellectual attainments, its refinements, its elevations of character, its best results in life and in expression,—whether these are safe.

The signs are dubious. No sure inferences can be drawn from the evidence of material prosperity, for, though this may afford assurance of industry, energy, and a certain (not the highest) grade of intelligence, it gives little in respect to the superior elements of civilization. A better ground for inference is to be found in the evidence afforded by the expression of national character in the manners of the people,—evidence the clearer and stronger for its being the direct, yet in large measure the unconscious, revelation of the moral disposition. The average American is unquestionably good-natured; the easy conditions of life tend to promote his good humor and self-satisfaction; he is gener-

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ally kind-hearted, and not indisposed to render service to others when it can be done without much personal trouble. A child, a woman, a helpless person, if making an immediate appeal for aid, or requiring protection or special care, is usually treated with consideration and kindliness. But such manners as have their root in genuine unselfishness; in principles of conduct strong enough to control temper and to resist the wear and tear of familiar fretting circumstance; in the desire to be pleasant,—such manners as are considerate of minor needs, and give sweetness, elegance, and grace to life, can hardly be said to be characteristic of the American people. Genuine courtesy and refinement are rare in almost all parts of the world: they are certainly rare in America. The deficiency does not exist in the lower classes alone. It is conspicuous among those favored by fortune. Where in any other of what are called the great centres of civilization could one see a grosser exhibition of boorishness than was recently displayed by the well-to-do crowds at the Horse Show in New York, in their behavior toward the young Duke and Duchess of Marlborough?—women and men crowding and hustling to get a place from which to stare at the newly-married pair, vying with each other in the shameless manifestation of the want of self-respect, as well as of decent regard not merely to conventional but to actual propriety.

But a more serious, because a more widespread and permanent exhibition of the lack of due regard for manners, is the neglect—common to all classes of society—of the proper domestic training of children. The frequent and notorious self-sufficiency and impertinence of the American child betray the indifference of parents to the essential and most commonplace considerations of domestic discipline and parental responsibility. The spirit of unchecked independence and of selfish wilfulness permitted in childhood develops into youthful lawlessness and resistance to restraint. The hoodlum of the street corner and the rough loafer of the village find their mates among the students of our colleges. The difference between them is only one of circumstance and of degree. The manners and morals displayed in intercollegiate contests in athletic sports in all parts of the country fall little short of a national disgrace, for they result not only from the character of the contestants, but from that of the community at large from which they are drawn, and which encourages the barbaric instincts of youth by its indifference to fair play, and by the excess of its hysteric applause of victory won by any means, fair or foul. The intercollegiate game has become an evil not only in college life, but in the life of the nation

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itself; for there is nothing of higher import in that life than the cherishing of the sense of honor and of the sanctity of honesty in all competitions. The wholesome and honorable practice of athletic sports is one of the most important elements in the education of youth. The practice of them, not for the sake of their true ends, the development of manly and vigorous health, but for the sake of unhealthy excitement, and of getting the advantage of opponents by concealment, fraud, or violence if it cannot be won by legitimate means, is simply a source of moral corruption. Few men of this country have paid more attention to this matter than Mr. Caspar W. Whitney, or have a better acquaintance with sport as practised in England as well as in America. His testimony runs no risk of being called in question as that of an inexperienced or unsympathetic witness, and this is what he says in "Harper's Weekly" for November 23, 1895, after giving an account of the conditions which at present prevail in our chief sport:—

> "When I consider the condition of affairs this moment over the whole country, in football alone, I am compelled to acknowledge that it is a criticism of the severest kind on the morality of the young men of America; and when the readers of this department see these paragraphs and realize how inadequately such a wretched state of affairs can be treated in a single page of the "Weekly," that this is but a drop in the hogshead of what is going on, they will be not only astounded but shocked to think that their own countrymen have so little sense of honor and justice and commonplace every-day integrity that they cannot even play their games without cheating in secret or with brazen-faced openness. It is a calamity, and the practice is so widespread that it seems almost incurable."

These evils in the field of sport are all the more dangerous because of the profit which the newspaper press finds in fostering the unhealthy popular excitement concerning these public games. The excessive space devoted to highly colored and extravagant reports of them, totally out of proportion to their real importance, is one of the marked indications of the prevalence of conditions unfavorable to civilization; but it is by no means the only one afforded by the character of the common American newspapers. As a mirror of the community which they address, the image which they afford of it is not pleasing, nor fitted to encourage confidence in its disposition. But the newspaper is not a mere mirror; it does much—nothing does more—to shape the image which it reflects; and the enormous power that it exercises in this respect invests its editors with a responsibility which they may refuse to acknowledge, but which they cannot evade. Notable examples of the recognition of editorial responsibility, and of well-directed

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effort to make the newspaper an agency for the promotion of civilization, are afforded by the conduct of a few journals in different parts of the country,—such, for instance, as the New York "Evening Post" and the Springfield "Republican"; but, of the great multitude of the papers in the United States, how many are so conducted as to exert an influence for good? If the majority of them do little harm because of the intellectual feebleness of their editors, there are some among the so-called leading newspapers of which the influence is wholly pernicious because of the perverted intellectual ability with which they are conducted. There has been, for example, no lack of a kind of talent in the conduct of a notorious journal in the city of New York, which has sought and won a discreditable success by pandering to the baser tastes and dispositions of the community. The corrupting influence of its cynical indifference to public morality, to the obligations of truth, and the restraints of honor, has not been confined to its own readers. Its example has been followed throughout the country by many an editor seeking for notoriety and profit along similar shameless paths.

The number of local journals in all parts of the land is often cited as evidence of the wide diffusion of education and intelligence among our people. But the character of the mass of them is not such as to justify this inference. They doubtless indicate a higher level of material comfort than that enjoyed by any equal body of people elsewhere, but, broadly regarded, they afford an image of a people with few mental interests, of uncultivated tastes, of shallow disposition, of dull lives, and devoid of intellectual or moral education of a high order. They exhibit a people with a strong sense of personal interests, and not deficient in energy and enterprise in the conduct of personal affairs, but largely destitute of the sense of public duty, and of the responsibilities attaching to citizenship in a self-governing commonwealth; a people not likely to be shocked by coarse means adopted to promote personal or party success, and preferring to commit public interests to the charge of men of their own stamp rather than to such as, by superior character, intelligence, and education, are more competent to deal with them.

There is nothing surprising in this; but the results of such conditions are not matters of exultation, nor encouraging of confidence in the victory of civilization. The open and abundant bribery of voters in New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island is matched by the "floaters" and "blocks of five" in the West, by the corruption and intimidation of voters and the false returns of the polls in the South. The spectacle of the control of public affairs in New York passing

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from the hands of a man like Governor Hill to another like Platt, and of Pennsylvania stowed in the pocket of a man like Quay,—all three of them men of a low order of ability and without a single trait that would justify popular regard; not statesmen or orators, not educated men or gentlemen: this spectacle is but the most conspicuous among a thousand of similar order in other States and upon a more limited stage.

Nor is it surprising that, as the proportion of intelligent and educated voters has decreased in comparison with their whole number, a general deterioration has taken place in the character of their chosen Representatives. The members of Congress—alike in the Senate and in the House—very fairly represent the body of their constituents. It is not so much a lack of native talent and individual capacity which is observable in Congress to-day, as it is a lack of the trained intelligence requisite for dealing with complex public interests, and still more of the moral character which is superior to motives of mean personal ambition and partisan advantage. A Senate in which a large proportion of the members owe their places to wealth used directly or indirectly to obtain them, without exposing themselves to general reprobation or the scorn of their fellows, is not likely to be the seat of much upright or enlightened legislation. The delegations in the House of Representatives from New England and New York—that is, from the part of the country supposed to be most civilized—do not raise high expectations concerning those from States which possess fewer advantages of culture and fewer traditions of statesmanship.

Such exhibitions as we have lately had—as we are now having—of public men of note making deliberate appeal to the most brutal instincts of the populace by advocacy of a policy of national aggression and of war, afford the plainest evidence of the low estimate which these spurious patriots set upon the public intelligence and morality. It needs, however, but little training of the ear to detect the false tone of selfish ambition in their blatant declamations; and the American people would have to be nearer than it is to deserving the contempt in which they hold it before it could be deluded by their demagogic arts. But these political swaggerers, who seek to breed suspicion and ill will between friendly nations, to cultivate the spirit of animosity, and to stimulate evil passions, who disparage the virtue of peace and good will among men, are among the worst of criminals, for they aim their blows at civilization itself.

At the present moment the risk is perhaps small of the adoption of

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this infamous policy by either of the great national parties, though we must expect to hear its advocates more loud than ever in the session of Congress which has just opened; but the fact is not to be overlooked that the promulgation of such doctrine by men in high public station has not merely an effect in debauching the sentiment of the more ignorant and reckless part of the community, but that it also tends and is in part expressly designed to confirm certain evil conditions in our national life which threaten the permanence of peaceful foreign relations. It encourages that spirit of hostility to England which to their shame prevails in a large contingent of both foreign and native voters, and which is far more threatening to the welfare of the United States than it is to that of Great Britain. The idea of war between the two countries is one that no rational man should hold as within the range of possibilities. It would be a national crime for which there could be no excuse. Whatever question may arise between the two nations can never be one for which war can be the right solution. But the discourse of politicians seeking personal or party advantage by jingoism is all the more to be condemned because it fosters that barbaric lust of conquest and dominion which the progress of civilization has done as yet little to extirpate from the hearts of the uninstructed masses of mankind, and which is dangerously promoted by some of the very felicities of our fortune. The rapid and prosperous growth of our great Western States—cut off as they are by mere position from the restraints imposed by neighborhood to other powers; cut off also from the influences of old tradition and inherited culture—has encouraged among their people a spirit of self-confidence which may easily degenerate into one of arrogance and self-assertion. Materialized in their temper; with few ideals of an ennobling sort; little instructed in the lessons of history; safe from exposure to the direct calamities and physical horrors of war; with undeveloped imaginations and imperfect sympathies,—they form a community unfortunate and dangerous from the possession of power without a due sense of its corresponding responsibilities: a community in which the passion for war may easily be excited as the fancied means by which its greatness may be convincingly exhibited, its patriotism displayed, and its ambitions gratified. This is no unreal peril. Some chance spark may fire the prairie. It is a peril indefinitely enhanced by the optimistic indifference of the people at large, and their childish conceptions concerning the greatness and power of the United States as compared with other nations.

This dangerous temper is confirmed by one of the normal results

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of such conditions as have prevailed in the greater part of our territory during the past century,—the steady growth of disrespect for rightful authority, whether that of law, of learning, or of experience: nay, even of wisdom herself. The spirit of individual independence is the spirit to which the progress of civilization is mainly due; but, if not controlled by reason, it becomes the parent of anarchy, destructive of free institutions and of social order. In Europe its excess is checked in part by her great armies and navies, in which the principles of discipline, subordination, and obedience are maintained, and also by the existence of a large class of men sufficiently instructed to set a true value upon the principle of authority, rightly understood, as the balance-wheel by which individual independence is regulated. In America we have been living under conditions which have admitted of no check upon this spirit of independence; and the result is seen in every class, in the enfeebled sense of the virtue of obedience and the necessity of discipline, in the unrestraint of expression, and in the readiness to question and to resist the exercise of authority. Even in the most civilized parts of the country the sentiment of the independence of the individual is often misdirected and depraved, while in the vast half-civilized and half-settled regions it becomes the very manifestation of barbarism and of a relapse toward savagery. Mr. Owen Wister, in one of those stories of the rude West, in which, with rare felicity, he depicts conditions of border life which he has observed with penetrating intelligence and sympathetic perception, speaks incidentally of the common antipathy in the West toward the soldiers of the United States. He says:

> "The unthinking sons of the sage-brush [in Arizona], ill tolerate a thing which stands for discipline, good order, and obedience; and the man who lets another command him they despise. I can think of no threat of more evil for our democracy, for it is a fine thing diseased and perverted,—namely, independence gone drunk."

The threat, under another aspect, exists no less in New England than in Arizona.

Now these and other similar conditions hostile to civilization in the United States are not to be puffed out of existence by windy declamation, or by rhetorical assertions of the popular intelligence and virtue. Nor are they to be met in the spirit of irrational confidence in the excellence of our political institutions and in the saving grace of democracy. They are no figments of a desponding pessimism, but they are real dangers undermining the character and threatening the

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vitality of our Republic. "The true temper in politics," it has been well said, "is one of confidence and hope"; not of blind confidence, but of confidence based on intelligent resolution, unremitting effort, unwearied patience; not of vague hope, but of hope based on definite purpose and on a reasonable belief in the capacity for improvement among men. The first need is that we clear our minds from illusion, in order that the peril may be distinctly recognized and fairly estimated. To deny or to undervalue the forces ranged against civilization is to increase their power. An intelligent understanding of them is required to direct the effort to subdue them. The appeal to every reflecting and worthy citizen of the United States to do his part in the work of securing the safety and progress of the Republic is direct, is urgent. It is on the minority of the people and on the individual effort of each member of it that the issue depends. What we want is not exceptional service or exceptional ability, but plain virtues and common uprightness. To raise the level of his own intelligence, to keep his moral sense clear and unperverted, to use his influence in maintaining the simple ideals of private and public virtue, is within the power of every right-minded man; and thus only, by the slow processes of self-improvement gradually embodied in public opinion, is the secular fight, on the issue of which the happiness of mankind depends, to be carried on. In the heat of the contest there is no question as to victory. He who "sees life steadily and sees it whole" is neither elated nor depressed. We must fight, each with his best strength. The fight will not be ended with our lives, but all good men are enlisted for the war.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.

NOTE:—The foregoing article was written before the issue of President Cleveland's astounding message respecting the Venezuelan boundary dispute. To the forecast in my paper of danger to the Nation from existing conditions of public intelligence and morality, this message, and the popular reception of it, have given lamentable and most unexpected confirmation. The harm done by the defection of the President and of the Secretary of State from the path of good sense and national dignity is irreparable, even though (and this is still uncertain) the worst consequences which might naturally result from it be escaped.

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OUR MONETARY PROGRAMME.

In 1862, when we resorted to paper issues, we showed a lamentable confusion between the functions of currency on the one hand, and the means of obtaining revenue on the other; the standard for prices and the medium of exchange were deranged in the forlorn hope of getting a loan without interest by issuing irredeemable paper. To-day another —although slightly different—confusion of thought exists. In regard to money functions alone we seem to be unable to distinguish between (1) the function of money as a common denominator of values, to which all goods are referred, and in which prices are expressed; and (2) the function of money as a medium of exchange, the means by which, after goods have been expressed in terms of the common denominator, they are exchanged against each other. Certainly we must carefully note these distinctions in preparing monetary reforms. Before we can correctly indicate remedies for our ailing currency system we must obtain a true diagnosis of the disease.

In 1893 our monetary disturbances centred about the discontinuance of silver coinage and the repeal of the Sherman Act; to-day our difficulties seem to be connected with the retirement of the greenbacks and the paucity of the gold reserve. Nominally these appear to be different problems; in reality they are but different external manifestations of the same internal disorder. What this common cause of different troubles is, is, in my judgment, not far to seek. To every candid mind familiar with trade and exchange of goods it must, when once pointed out, seem axiomatic. Certainly every business man must regard as axiomatic the proposition that the essential of all business prosperity is freedom from artificial disturbances of the standard, or common denominator, in which contracts are made and in which all current prices of goods are expressed. It is a fundamental both of monetary principle and of practical experience. The protection of the monetary standard from dishonest or secret manipulation is the commonest homily of history. On the crime, for instance, of debasing the coinage, and thereby altering all contracts, the historians have wasted abundant ink. In short, an alteration of the standard will inevitably

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work injury to industrial prosperity; and, if it be undertaken in ignorance, the authors of it would show themselves unfit for office; if done designedly, they would prove themselves knaves.

Since recent events—to my mind at least—indicate a failure to distinguish between these two different functions of money, it will be advisable to make perfectly clear the basis for such a distinction. The two things to be kept distinct are: (1) the undisturbed maintenance of the standard, or common denominator, for prices and contracts; and (2) the means by which goods are exchanged. The stability of the standard is a matter quite distinct from the determination as to how much of this or that kind of money is needed as a medium of exchange. The standard in which prices are expressed should not be confounded with the machinery by which goods (whose relative values are already expressed in the standard money) are exchanged.[1]

A perfect standard of value, as every economist knows, is unattainable. Neither gold nor silver are perfect standards, because price is a relation; and this relation may be altered either by causes affecting the money side, or by causes affecting the goods side of the comparison. Gold and silver have in fact been used as standards in default of better ones; silver having been mainly so regarded up to 1850, and gold having been largely so employed since 1850. Prices, with which every man of affairs has to deal, are affected by all the various influences touching not only the goods side, but the money side, of the ratio. Prices, consequently, are modified (1) by an increase or diminution in the supply of money, (2) by an increase or diminution in the demand for the money-material, or (3) by an increase or diminution in the cost of producing the goods exchanged against money. It is evident, then, that there are many natural and unavoidable causes at work on either gold or silver to modify their relation to goods, and thus to affect prices. Changes in prices are sure to arise from the numer-

[1] General Francis A. Walker says money performs the function of a measure of value "in respect to a vast bulk of commodities where it is not called on to become a medium of exchange. . . . It requires the actual use of money, for a longer or shorter space of time, to effect those double exchanges which we call buying and selling; but the prices resulting from such exchanges may be applied to far greater bodies of wealth without the use of money. For example, a farmer sells a cow to be sent to the city for beef. It is only in the actual sale that money is used: but he takes the price—the money-value—thus determined, as the means of estimating the value of his herd; and so does the government in taxing him. . . . The farmer compares his cow with the one he has just sold for money, and, knowing it to be as good a cow, or better, or poorer, fixes her price, in denominations of money, for the purposes of the contemplated exchange."—"Money," p. 64.

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ous causes thus set forth, over which legislation can have no control. The business community has enough to do to watch for and guard against changes arising from natural causes affecting the demand and supply of money and the vicissitudes of cost of production. It has not only a right to be saved from legislative artificial changes in the standard; but it will be incensed beyond endurance if such legislation is the result of political intrigue and campaign bargains. It is ready to demand in a very ugly humor that it shall no longer be worried by unnatural legislative changes in the common denominator itself.

But, more than this, gold is not the same kind of article as silver for monetary purposes, and the forces affecting the value of gold apply in a different way to gold from those which apply to silver. Gold is heavier than silver: gold is thirty times as valuable as silver, weight for weight: gold is needed for large denominations of coin; silver for small denominations. Therefore, for monetary uses, gold and silver are not homogeneous; a demand for money in general cannot be satisfied indifferently by either gold or silver, since monetary needs differ among different people. Gold and silver cannot be interchangeable as money, any more than corn and wheat are interchangeable as food: both corn and wheat may serve as food, but corn-meal and flour will never be the same, will never equally please all palates, and will never be in demand interchangeably the one for the other. The difference between gold and silver is still more pronounced. From the simple fact that gold is a metal different from silver, the conditions affecting the demand and supply of gold are different from those affecting the demand and supply of silver. The main supplies of gold come from regions other than those which furnish silver: the largest deposits of gold have been found in California, Australia, South Africa, and parts of the Rocky Mountains; while the largest finds of silver have been in Mexico, South America, and Nevada. From this brief summary of facts it must be evident why a standard of silver must inevitably be wholly different from one of gold. From the point of view of the function of money as a standard, every one must admit that the two are not homogeneous. This can be admitted without entering into the "silver question" here.

The logical consequences of these facts are momentous to our present discussion. If, in this country, gold should happen to have long been the common denominator with which all goods had been habitually compared; and if as a consequence prices and contracts had during this long period been expressed in gold (for this has been true of

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gold legally and in fact since 1834, except in the paper period of 1862–1879),—then it follows that any attempt to change from an existing gold standard to one of depreciated paper, or to one of silver, having its own peculiar conditions of value, would have the destructive effect of a monetary earthquake. It would cause an upheaval of all prices and contracts not specifically expressed in gold. After having adapted itself to one metal, the business public must go through the trying process of learning how to adapt itself to a new metallic denominator. Here is the destructive influence of a change. And, as nature abhors a vacuum, the world of trade abhors change. The business community demands conditions in which it can clearly see a short distance ahead. Whatever be the length of time involved in a productive process,—such as between buying the wool and marketing the finished woollen goods, or between buying iron and completing the house or bridge,—men of affairs must be protected against unnecessary changes in the common denominator in which their sales and orders are expressed.

All this exposition seems so very elementary that I shall probably be taken to task for it; but the astounding fact remains that our Solons have for seventeen years (or since 1878) been straining the very timbers of the ship of state in a frantic—and, from a business point of view, an insane—attempt to tamper with the standard. A concerted and continuous effort to render the country uncertain as to the permanence of its standard, actually kept up for seventeen years, and embodied in national legislation, seems like a piece of folly too gross to be true in a modern civilized state; but that is the exact truth of the United States. Since 1878 we have not intermitted the policy, forced on us by selfish private interests, to keep steadily before us the possibility of a change from the gold to the silver standard. Since 1878 it must be recorded that there has never been a period of absolute certainty; there has never been a period when a producer could feel so entirely sure of the standard of payments that he could, without fear or hesitation, make his estimates a few years ahead.

A correct analysis of the situation, therefore, in my judgment, discloses the fact that the cause of all our monetary disturbances is not one connected with a medium of exchange, but one concerning the maintenance of a definite measure, or common denominator, in which prices and contracts are expressed. It is not now a question as to *how much*, but *what kind* of money we shall have. It was the doubt as to what kind of money, or what standard, we were to have, which brought us the panic of 1893. Politicians, manœuvring for party

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advantage, have been playing the game of tampering-with-the-standard at Washington, while the crippled industries of the land were burying their dead. How long will the plain people stand patiently by, and pay out of their pockets hundreds of millions of dollars, for the fun of watching a debauch of violated monetary principles?

The story of our standard since the Civil War is one of the most humiliating chapters of our monetary history; and that is saying a great deal. It was on December 31, 1861, that specie payments were suspended, after a long experience on a gold basis,—since about 1834. In 1862 the government made the error, before alluded to, of trying to get a loan without interest by issuing irredeemable paper. The inability to understand that the interest on $450,000,000 was a small matter compared with the confusion produced in prices and credit by changing the standard from gold to a paper of dubious value (behind which there was not a dollar of reserve) was severely punished by disaster. The greenbacks then issued depreciated even 65 per cent. Without going into the subsequent history of this depreciated standard, it is sufficient to recall that, in 1875, the Resumption Act was passed, under the provisions of which a sufficient gold reserve was collected, and specie payments were resumed January 1, 1879. After a seventeen years' wandering in the wilderness of uncertainty, we returned to the same gold standard which had existed previous to the war. This return was accomplished only after painful sacrifices which convulsed the country; but the result has proved equal to the cost. This resumption was the crown and glory of President Hayes's administration; the Republican party became the upholders of business stability and "sound money"; it was in connection with the resumption measure that President Garfield won his reputation; and in the business community the restoration of the gold standard has been regarded as the very charter of prosperity at home and of credit abroad.

But prosperity and credit have been chilled by every slightest suggestion of doubt as to the maintenance of this standard. Strange to say, with fatuous lack of judgment, the fixity of the standard had not been actually established before operations were started to undermine it. After resumption was attained, its guardians seemed to forget to care for it; and from 1878 to the present day the country has suffered under constant and repeated attempts to change the standard. Knowing the necessity of fixity in the standard for business prosperity, why have we allowed it to be constantly threatened? The first serious

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threat to the standard began with the Bland-Allison Act, in February, 1878. It will be remembered that the Bland Bill, as it passed the House, was a free-coinage measure. It is true that the fangs of the bill were drawn by Mr. Allison in the Senate; otherwise, if passed, the standard would have been changed from gold to silver in the twinkling of an eye. But although we were saved by the Senate, the uncertainty produced by the agitation remained. The ill results have been far greater than is generally supposed. If a free-silver measure —meaning a complete transition to the silver standard—could pass one House, why may it not pass both Houses in the future? The Senate to-day would not save us from free silver, our whole reliance being on the lower House and on the Executive. This uneasiness once aroused, although partially allayed for short periods, has been ever present. It leaves the business system in a highly nervous condition, as after a bad attack of monetary *grippe;* and ordinary emergencies are magnified by the unhealthy conditions.

Under the operations of the Bland-Allison Act, the country received serious shocks to its confidence in the fixity of the standard, and especially in 1884–86. This arose from doubts as to the condition of the gold reserves in the Treasury. The government can maintain gold payments only if it has gold with which to pay. And it can obtain gold either through its revenue, or by selling bonds for gold: there are no other ways. But in the years 1884–86, so great was the distrust in the ability of the Treasury to breast the stream of silver coinage, that the usual supplies of gold ceased to flow in through payments of revenue: gold was held back, and other kinds of money were sent in instead. The flood of silver choked the inlets to the Treasury; and a panic was narrowly averted. Finally, by making a vacuum for the silver money in the general circulation, the stream of silver was prevented from overflowing the Treasury, and confidence was again temporarily established. By October, 1886, gold was once more freely paid into the Treasury for public dues. (See Chart I for the result since 1886.)

During this period of disturbance the net gold in the Treasury fell to within about $15,000,000 of the reserve of $100,000,000 then regarded as the danger line. It is of present interest, however, to note that this reduction of gold had no connection with deficits between national income and expenditure; for the surplus in each year was as follows: in 1884, $57,603,396; in 1885, $17,859,735; in 1886, $93,956,583. No device for increasing the revenue would at that time

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have been considered for a moment as helping to restore the confidence in the standard. There was no question of a lack of revenue in other kinds of money than gold; there was money in abundance in the Treasury, but not money of the right kind. The difficulties of the time arose solely from a fear that the standard might be changed from gold to silver; and this fear was distinctly reflected in the nature of the payments by the public into the Treasury. Gold was withheld, and other forms of money sent in for dues.

When it had been once shown, by the administration of the Bland-Allison Act, that the annual coinage of silver could be kept from choking up the Treasury, a period of four years of monetary quiet ensued, except in so far as ineffective silver agitation during these years may have disturbed the situation. The uncertainty as to the standard was again temporarily removed; but vigilance was still necessary. The net gold reserves in the Treasury were fully adequate, remaining during this period at from $150,000,000 to $200,000,000. Large reserves like this, so long as they existed, removed all anxiety. It was not essential to the situation in 1887–1890 that the revenues supplied a surplus; for a surplus, as was shown, had existed when the troubles of 1884–86 were upon us. In short, the surplus theory gives us no explanation of the history in those years; the source of evil was elsewhere.

The success in warding off the inherent dangers to the standard arising from the Bland-Allison Act seemed to encourage the belief that the country could take more and greater risks with impunity. In 1890 Congress redoubled its sinister attempts to pry up the foundations of our monetary system. Congress passed, and President Harrison actually signed, July 14, 1890, the so-called Sherman Act, which more than doubled our purchases of silver, and thereby doubled the difficulties of maintaining our existing standard, which in 1884–86 had almost succumbed to the operations of the Bland-Allison Act. We might have carried the burdens of the latter by vigilance and skill, but the additional weight of the Act of 1890 brought us humiliation and enormous losses. The question of the standard was opened all anew: from the very passage of the Act dates the steady decline in the percentage of gold paid into the Treasury for public dues (see Chart I) from which we have never since recovered; from it dates the steady decline in the amount of the Treasury balances, and the swift collapse of the net gold reserve (see Chart II); and from that time began the heaping up of the explosives which burst out in the fearful monetary upheaval of 1893.

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It was not a question of sufficient revenue; for we had no deficits to the end of the fiscal year of 1893, which included the outbreak of the panic. The cause of disaster was solely the unspeakable blindness to the folly of tampering with the standard.

The panic of 1893 did not break out until—for the first time since the resumption of specie payments in 1879—the net gold reserve fell below $100,000,000. That amount, it was supposed, would be always sacredly maintained as a protection to the $346,000,000 of greenbacks for which it had been pledged. But in April, 1893, this traditional amount of reserve was broken into; and then the unrestrained fear as to the standard of payments developed into fright and panic. Safety disappeared, and chaos reigned. Our punishment had come in bitter losses of hundreds of millions of dollars, and in the succeeding depression of industry. It is not now my purpose to explain or to recite in full the causes and progress of the panic of 1893; but, suffice it to say, it was a standard-panic. It was not caused by any scarcity of money: so far as that factor entered, it was an apparent consequence, not a cause, of the panic. The dominating cause was the final culmination of the long-felt uncertainty as to the fixity of the gold standard, which had been operating since 1878 and has been intensified since 1890. It was the perfectly natural fear—natural after what had happened in our legislation—that, before securities could be sold and realized upon, silver would take the place of gold as the standard of payments. This was the reason of the frightful rapidity with which the gold reserve fell during the latter part of 1893 (see Chart II). The decline of the Treasury balance was the inevitable falling off of revenue due to the panic. The gold reserve was not low because the balance was low. That is a complete inversion of cause and effect. The true sequence was as follows: The distrust of the standard, caused by insane legislation, diminished gold payments into the Treasury; that lowered the gold reserve; this produced a reflex influence on public confidence; the diminishing ability of the Treasury to maintain gold payments brought on the panic; the panic caused the falling off in the revenues and in the Treasury balance. For to July 1, 1893, there was no deficit. To suppose that more revenue would have saved the gold reserve at the end of 1893 is sophistical, in my judgment. The true cause was the tampering with the standard.

The free-coinage agitation, directed openly against the standard on which we have done business since 1834 (excepting the paper period, 1862–1879), unsettled confidence at home and abroad in the stability of

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our monetary policy. No one could know that contracts entered into when a dollar stood for 100 cents in gold might not be paid off in silver which stood for 50 cents on a dollar. That was the predicament in which every investor found himself who had an obligation payable only in "coin" and not in gold.

That is the reason, too, why government bonds would be more desirable to investors if made specifically payable in gold. Objectors may say that it destroys credit in our bonds to introduce this clause, because it raises the question which ought to be taken for granted,—that the "coin" bonds are to be paid in the best money. But this answer is conclusively falsified by the very facts of past and present distrust as to the future of our monetary policy, and by the utter impossibility of predicating that coming Congresses and their constituents will be any more sane than they have been in the past. How does any one know that the Treasury will always pay gold, when a majority of the present Senate would destroy the gold standard in a moment, if it could.

A further insight into the causes of the prevailing disturbances may be obtained by a study of Chart I. From 1886 to July, 1890, from 70 to 95 per cent of all payments to the Treasurer at New York were in gold, while since July, 1894, no gold has been paid in, and the payments made have been only in greenbacks or in forms of silver money. The contrast is ominous and unmistakable. The fall and disappearance of the gold line, A, and the rise of the greenback line, B, are the marked phenomena of the period after July, 1890. All the doubt and confusion, moreover, dates from July, 1890. In short, the pressure of greenbacks and silver upon the Treasury, and the cutting off of the usual supplies of gold, are directly traceable to the Sherman Act. It might be said, however, that in that case the repeal of the Sherman Act in November, 1893, ought to have restored the old situation as it existed before 1890. From that date, possibly, silver money has not been so largely sent in to the Treasury; but greenbacks have come in, instead of gold. The line B assumes the place which A had before 1890. The indisputable inference from these facts and from those of Chart II is that, since the repeal of the Sherman Act, no adequate gold reserve has been maintained to quiet the apprehensions as to the fixity of the standard aroused by recent events. To push the reserve slightly above $100,000,000 by a small issue of bonds, inevitably followed by its disappearance below the line, impresses no one very forcibly. Each time the gold reserve goes below the line, all the old doubts are again raised, and no one can have any certainty for the future. A really serious at-

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tempt to replenish the reserve once for all to the amount of $150,000,000 or $200,000,000 might have produced some confidence in the future.

Moreover, although repealed, the Sherman Act is still with us in the form of $150,818,582 (Nov. 1, 1893) of Treasury notes issued under its provisions, which required that the "Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin, at his discretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio," etc. Hence the Secretary must always be ready to redeem these notes in gold; for a discrimination against them would create two standards of money,—one redeemable in gold, another in silver. Consequently these notes are an additional demand on a gold reserve already too small even for the greenbacks. Under such circumstances the doubts as to the fixity of the standard must still remain. The reserve could not possibly serve for a sudden emergency, such as a threat of war against Great Britain. To mean anything, redemption must redeem on any and all occasions. Anything short of this is a sham.

It has been urged in some quarters that the dwindling gold reserve is due to the deficits of our budgets; that, if the revenue were increased sufficiently, the gold reserve could be maintained intact. There are only two ways by which the Treasury can obtain gold: (1) through the payment of revenue; or (2), just as blankets or shoes can be got, by purchase—through the offer of bonds or their equivalent. It has been shown that the first and normal source of supply has been entirely cut off; and hence the reserve can be replenished in only one other way, so long as the existing distrust continues,—and that is by the sale of bonds. No matter how much more revenue be raised, no matter how much larger the mere surplus of income over expenditure may be, the gold reserve cannot be maintained if that greater revenue and that larger surplus consist of greenbacks or silver money,—the very objects to be redeemed. To increase taxes, to swell out the surplus, will not avert our monetary danger unless thereby a change is made in the kind of money paid into the Treasury. It seems like a joke to say that increasing taxes will increase confidence in the standard, when no gold can come in from an increased revenue, as things now stand.

The examination of Chart II ought to make this absolutely clear. From 1890 to the end of 1893 the steady fall of the net gold reserve was accompanied by a fall of the Treasury balance; but, be the balance large or small, it was during this time largely made up of gold.

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But from the end of 1893 a very different condition of things appears. The balances were increased by the sale of bonds for gold; and yet gold continued to escape. The wide discrepancy between the Treasury balances and the net gold shows that the resources of the government were ample, but that these resources were not made up of the right kind of money. Two years of experience has proved that increasing government balances do not ensure a stable gold reserve, even though the increased balances were caused by the direct purchase of gold by the sale of bonds. Now, on the other hand, if the increased balances had been produced by a mere increase of revenue, when the revenue was sure not to be paid in gold, how much less ground is there for supposing that the gold reserve could have been maintained? If it were wrong to have used, even indirectly, for the general demands on the Treasury, the proceeds of the sale of bonds intended only to supply the gold reserve, it must be now apparent that the deficits, whatever they were and are, have been already met by the new funds covered in to the Treasury. If the deficits have been paid by the proceeds of the bonds, and yet the gold reserve is still threatened, it is nonsense to propose to increase the revenue to pay off deficits already met, in order to protect a gold reserve already shown to be uninfluenced by increased Treasury balances.

The Treasury has money, but not the proper kind of money. The situation resembles that of a body of troops suddenly surrounded by the enemy: their supply of ammunition is running low, when they are startled by the announcement that the wagons contain only a few boxes of cartridges that fit their rifles, but that there is an abundance of cartridges of a different size. Just as the proper cartridges give out, the enemy presses in on them; but they can make no resistance—with useless ammunition. So it is with the Treasury: when its stock of gold runs low, it cannot defend itself with silver or paper; for that would be a confession of bankruptcy, and a public notice that an end of solvency had been reached.

It may be true that the notes once redeemed by the gold obtained by bond sales have been paid out again, and paid out to meet general demands on the Treasury. This is why it has been charged that the Secretary has taken funds intended for the gold reserve and applied them to meet the deficits. But how else could the Secretary have acted in view of the law of May 31, 1878, which requires him to reissue redeemed notes? How else can he reissue them except in payment of general demands? If not only the gold itself obtained by

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bond sales, but also the notes presented in exchange for gold, should be kept inviolate, then the fault is in the law requiring the reissue of the notes, not in the Secretary's policy. If the Opposition wish to "corner" the Administration, and to prevent it from using the redeemed notes in paying off deficits (an indirect result of the bond sales),—thereby making tariff legislation for increased revenue a necessity,—the only way it can be done is by forbidding the issue of notes once redeemed and by providing for their cancellation. If this had been done, the proceeds from the sale of bonds for gold could not have been indirectly used in wiping out the deficits. This measure would have entirely separated the tariff question from the money question.

The effect of allowing the reissue of notes once redeemed is the same as largely increasing the volume of currency secured by the gold reserve; the consequence is that any given reserve is smaller in proportion to the demands upon it than it would otherwise be. If we wish the happiness of proving ourselves superior to all experience by reissuing redeemed notes, and do it all over again, we must simply provide a larger gold reserve than would be otherwise necessary. If we wish to maintain the gold standard, no other kind of money than gold will serve the purpose as a reserve. It makes no difference how high in the bucket stands the level of the water which is kept for thirsty men, if the bucket is largely filled with sand; so a large Treasury balance does not mean a large gold reserve. Or if there be a hole in the bucket by which only the water, and not the sand, goes out, filling up the bucket with water only temporarily raises its level; so the constant re-presentation of notes once redeemed acts like a hole in the Treasury to draw off the gold and leave the other kinds of money within. At present, redemption is skilfully arranged so as not to redeem; and it presents another of the many curious absurdities of our monetary history.

After the preceding exposition it is not difficult to indicate the necessary remedial measures which the public have a right to expect from Congress at the present session. There stands out, as of first and paramount importance, the necessity of preserving, without possibility of future disturbances, the existing standard of prices and contracts. All tampering with the standard should be as much dreaded as Asiatic cholera. It is high time we quarantined ourselves against this form of monetary disease.

The problem reduces itself simply to one of redemption. The task

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of maintaining the parity of our various kinds of money—greenbacks, silver coin, silver certificates, Treasury notes of 1890—is not impossible, if we wish to undertake it. The trouble is that the silver group in the Senate and House do not really wish parity maintained. They may hope to accomplish all the results of a free-coinage measure and bring us to a silver standard, without further legislation, by preventing the replenishment of the gold reserve in emergencies like the present. But the Secretary is still provided with the powers of the original Resumption Act of 1875, and can sell bonds for gold. If Congress, by new legislation, will not give more salable bonds, then the old methods will still remain. A bold and aggressive policy, however, is needed to restore our shattered confidence in the fixity of the standard. A few millions more or less of gold will not suffice: a reserve large enough to drive doubt out of the most sceptical mind should be procured, and that without delay. If I might be permitted to indicate the necessary monetary measures, they would be the following:—

1. Provision for full and sufficient gold reserve of at least $200,000,000, by sale of bonds.

2. Notice of the redemption on demand, in gold, of any and all kinds of government paper and silver money at numerous cities in different parts of the United States.

3. The cancellation of all notes redeemed. The repeal of the Act of May 31, 1878, forbidding the retirement of United States notes.

4. If notes are called for, the issue of new notes only on deposit of gold, dollar for dollar, in the Treasury.

Under such a system, whenever the currency is redundant, it will automatically contract itself. If there is any possible doubt of redemption, and of the value of the currency in circulation, continuous and prompt redemption will remove it. Then, according to a familiar principle of human nature, when every one can get gold, no one will call for it. And such a scheme would, so long as redemption was unquestioned, ensure the fixity of our standard.

It should be noticed also that the depression of trade incident to the panic of 1893, and a part of the consequences of our insane silver agitation, has made opportunities of investment less favorable in the United States and lowered the rate of interest. Consequently, floating capital will not remain in New York when it can be more profitably employed (risk being considered) elsewhere. So the movement of capital away from our country, and the consequent diminution of means to hire labor, shows itself behind the tendency of gold to leave

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us; for such capital must go in the form of gold. Could we have certainty as to our standard, and growing prosperity for industry, the rate of interest would rise, and there would be less pressure to send capital out of the country. Then it would be easier to maintain intact our gold reserves.

Of secondary importance to the fixity of the standard, but of large practical interest to the country, are some needed measures respecting the medium of exchange; and under the medium of exchange is to be included not merely metallic money, or paper money, or bank notes, but also that vast system of credit-deposits, vaguely apprehended by the public under the name of "credit," and which is bound up with the banking institutions of a country. By far the larger part of the exchanges of goods are performed by the use of checks, drafts, bills of exchange, through these credit-deposits in banks, in connection with the clearing-houses. The understanding of this I shall take for granted. Briefly expressed, it is a means of exchanging goods, whose values have been already expressed in terms of the standard money, by offsetting the goods against each other, with the use of but an infinitesimally small amount of money in paying balances. It is a tremendous fact in our means of exchange which must be reckoned with. With the stronger belief in the fixity of the standard, this means of exchange will increase.

Normally these "forms of credit," which are in truth but simple titles to property expressed in terms of money (arising out of actual transactions), are not usually or necessarily liquidated in legal money. Such liquidation is demanded only in abnormal times of distrust and panic, when each person who has to meet maturing obligations feels constrained to turn his property and securities into tangible forms of money. Of course the normal amount of money is always much less than the total value of a country's property. And when all property is offered for money, money seems scarce; when in reality the real trouble is a deluge of property thrown on the market in fright. When there is no fright, there is money enough. The wealth of a country put into its machinery of exchange returns no profit, and should be as small as necessary in ordinary times, yet capable of necessary expansion, even at additional cost, in times of need. It would not be economical to carry in normal times the amount of means of exchange needed in abnormal times, any more than railways should always have on hand cars sufficient to carry all the passengers in the country at one and the same time. But the need of some provision for abnormal times has

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been properly expressed in the general demand for an "elastic currency."

In a period of monetary stringency the central point is the fear that borrowers, even with good collateral, cannot obtain loans. If legal bank reserves are low, a new loan by a bank means primarily a credit-deposit to the borrower, and an increase of the proportion of demand liabilities to reserves. And yet it is exactly at such times that borrowers should be able to get loans; not to loan is to precipitate failures and spread the panic. Hence the importance of some means by which the stock of legal money in the reserves may be temporarily increased sufficiently to meet any reasonable needs of borrowers. In Great Britain no such provision exists; but precedents have made possible the violation of the law (Act of 1844) by "suspending the Bank Act" so far as to allow the Banking Department to carry securities to the Issue Department and to obtain Bank of England notes; and whenever that has been done the panic has been allayed without any great sum of new notes being used. In Germany provision has been made for just such contingencies: an emergency circulation has been allowed, but in such a way as to make it unprofitable to keep it out except in times of great need. On notes issued beyond the prescribed limit of uncovered issues (385,000,000 marks), a tax of 5 per cent is levied. In the United States no similar provision exists by law; but an equivalent to the English "suspension of the Bank Act" has appeared in times of stress in the form of clearing-house certificates. They are really a coinage of property to the amount of 75 per cent of its ascertained value into a form in which maturing obligations can be paid by those who owe the banks; and a charge of 6 per cent and a commission causes their early withdrawal when the emergency is past.

Such examples of common practice, with the principle underlying each case, serve to show us what banking legislation is seriously demanded in the interests of the general business community needing loans in emergencies. A measure similar to that of Germany, permitting the issue of notes on the security of approved assets, would be sensible and helpful. The general scheme of the "Baltimore Plan" is sound; but the emergency issue should be more elastic and less hemmed in than in that plan. And most careful measures should be introduced providing for the redemption of bank notes at a great number of centres throughout the land. We do not need to go back to the Suffolk Bank system for lessons on this point.

J. Laurence Laughlin.

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VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS.

I HAVE been requested to contribute to THE FORUM a study upon the Queen of England, designed as the first of a series of similar Royal sketches. Honored by such an invitation, I did not ask myself if I possessed the requisite leisure, because no leisure could possibly be adequate, without unlimited space, to a perfect performance of the task. Nor did I examine my conscience upon the point of that calm impartiality apparently demanded (and no doubt highly desirable for a true historic spirit); because it is certain that any Englishman who, like myself, has lived his English life under the glorious reign of Victoria, sharing all its blessings and securities, and who could yet sit down to write about his sovereign and her times as he would of Queen Nitocris or the Babylonian Constitution, must become by that very fact utterly incompetent, untrustworthy, and uninstructive. The personal element is a natural part of contemporary criticism and record. Posterity alone can afford to be impersonal and dispassionate, and I must, at the outset, frankly confess myself unable to look back along the days of Her Majesty's rule—which are those that make and bound my own memory—without a loyalty much too ardent for impartiality, and a gratitude far too strong for repression; without feelings of native pride, of natural admiration, of high thankfulness, and of firm hopefulness, with an avowal of which I had better begin, since they are quite certain speedily to make themselves apparent.

One of my earliest and most distinct boyish recollections is of the proclamation of Her Gracious Majesty as "Queen Victoria." I was a child about four or five years old, and was being led by my nurse through the streets of a provincial town where we lived, when suddenly a troop of yeomanry cavalry, in what seemed to my young eyes most gorgeous and dazzling military array, came loudly and grandly riding along the causeway. At the corner of the road they halted; the trumpeters blew a martial fanfare; the officers drew their swords, which shone gallant and bright in the sun of that glad day of June; and next, some imposing personage in the cavalcade—an elderly officer—recited from a paper certain sonorous words, of which I then under-

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stood but few, although I know now that what the silver-headed colonel said was approximately this :—

"Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy our late Sovereign Lord, King William the Fourth, of blessed and glorious memory, by whose decease the imperial crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is solely and rightfully come to the high and mighty Princess Alexandrina Victoria, it is therefore here published and proclaimed that the high and mighty Princess Alexandrina Victoria is now, by the death of the late Sovereign of happy memory, become our only lawful and rightful liege Lady, Victoria, by the Grace of God, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith. To whom let all therefore acknowledge faith and constant obedience, with all hearty and humble affection; beseeching God, by Whom Kings and Queens do reign, to bless the Royal Princess Victoria with long and happy years to reign over us. God save the Queen!"

Such were the historical sentences only a portion of which found their way to my childish mind that June morning in the year 1837, mightily emphasized to the small boy's wandering thoughts by the echo of big guns fired from the ships and forts on the river. Of the famous doings in London on that great occasion little or no echo reached our quiet town at the time. I did not know—and probably could not have understood—how the young Queen came out into the balcony from the window of the Presence Chamber at St. James's Palace, between Lords Melbourne and Lansdowne, and was hailed with thunderous cheers by vast crowds of her people; and how she was observed to shed tender and wistful tears at the moment of that great spectacle. When she retired to her mother's apartment, being proclaimed Sovereign, she held that conversation and made that request of which the world afterward heard with so much sympathy.

"I can scarcely believe, mamma, that I am really Queen of England. Can it indeed be so?"

"You are really Queen, my child," replied the Duchess of Kent; "listen how your subjects still cheer your name in the streets and cry to God to bless you."

"In time," said Her Majesty, "I shall perhaps become accustomed to this too great and splendid state. But, since I am Sovereign, let me, as your Queen, have to-day my first wish—let me be quite alone, dear mother, for a long time." And that day Victoria passed the first hours of her reign on her knees, praying to Heaven for herself and her people, with supplications innocent and noble, which have surely been heard.

It was not wonderful indeed that a reign so commenced has been

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followed by happy and famous years. But I must leave to Court chroniclers, and to the gold and brocade of professional history, all the details of that time of proclamation and coronation, to mention one other small fact of the hour which somehow became mingled in my mind with the ceremony, and which to-day curiously recurs to serve me as a commonplace but striking measure of the prodigious progress achieved during the Victorian era. As I returned home, asking a hundred questions from my nurse about kings and queens and the new reign, a man in the street was selling lucifer matches—evidently as a singular novelty—at a halfpenny apiece. He held up the little sticks one at a time, and then, drawing them through a folded piece of sandpaper, produced an instantaneous flame,—to the amazement of the passers-by, and doubtless to his own profit. On that morning, as on all before it, I had probably, on awakening from sleep, witnessed my nurse kindling the fire, or lighting the dressing-candles, with an old-fashioned flint and steel, laboriously striking the wayward sparks into the smutty tinder, and then applying to the travelling fringe of fire the point of a splinter of wood dipped into brimstone, bundles of which used to be sold by beggars in the highways. So did we procure the sacred element when this reign began, little if at all advanced beyond the fire-stick of the savage. Since then what a cheap and universal possession has that precious element of fire become, which, according to the Greek myth, Prometheus stole from the gods at the cost of such terrible penalties! Among the countless vast advances made by civilization generally, and by England in particular, during the Victorian era, how rarely does anybody think of the enormous service rendered everywhere by the simple innovation of the phosphorus match, which I thus saw sold for a halfpenny a sample on the Queen's coronation day. *Ex luce lucellum!* There is profitable reflection to be got out of that early match. The principle of it was, of course, the same as that of the branch which chafes itself into conflagration in the dry forest, or the fire-stick of the aboriginal,—a production of flame by friction; that is to say, with the mere substitution of phosphorus or chlorates for carbon. But what a difference to mankind! We were far from many vast additions to common life in those first days of this great reign, and among the smaller boons we were far from the amazing luxury of an age which can buy a box of wax vestas for a penny.

That little match makes one think of other large contrasts. For example, the total revenue of Great Britain and Ireland in 1837 was

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£47,240,000; last year it stood at over £100,000,000. The punishment of the pillory was still sometimes enforced, and the criminal law was cruel and sweeping. There was no railway open between Liverpool and Birmingham until some weeks after the youthful Queen's accession. Later still was tried that first experiment with the electric telegraph between Euston Square and Camden Town, there being present at the momentous inauguration Wheatstone and Cook, Fox and Robert Stephenson, pioneers of the electric, telegraphic, and telephonic age. The Earl of Beaconsfield, as Mr. Disraeli, had yet to make that famous failure of his maiden speech (it happened on December 7, 1837) when he, who lived to be Prime Minister and to arrange the affairs of a continent, exclaimed: "I have begun many things without success, and have afterwards succeeded: you will not listen now, but the time will come when you shall hear me!" The reign was not a year old when the "Sirius" steamer, earliest of her class, left Cork harbor for New York, followed by the "Great Western." Duels were still of no uncommon occurrence. Grace Darling had yet to add her sweet name to the record of British womanhood by rescuing the crew of the Indiaman "Forfarshire," and initiating with her heroism the system of our coast lifeboats. India was reached only by the long Cape route, and not until October 12, 1838, did that memorable meeting assemble at the Jerusalem Coffee House which first considered the possibility of steam communication with the East by way of the Mediterranean and the Arab Sea, cherishing moreover the then wild dream of arriving at Bombay in forty-two days, and at Calcutta in forty-three days. And not before November of the same year had the City Council of London voted its freedom in a gold box to Thomas Clarkson as token of his triumph in the struggle for the deliverance of enslaved Africans, "thereby"—so its memorable inscription ran—"obtaining for his country the high distinction of separating her commercial greatness from principles incompatible with the exercise of the Religion of Mercy, and achieving a moral victory whose trophies shall endure while Justice, Freedom, the Clemency of Power, and the peaceful glories of civilization shall have any place in the admiration of mankind." We had practically no use as yet of railroads, telegraph wires, and of steam navigation, and were only beginning to get the new machine of our popular representative institutions into order at the time when the coronation trumpets sounded, and when I saw, as a kind of scientific miracle, my first lucifer match.

Without too closely pursuing the comparison—intensely attractive

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though it might become—between Then and Now, it is worth while to dwell a little longer upon those wonderful advances characterizing the period to which the name of the Victorian era will always hereafter be given. For the Queen has borne an immense personal part in moulding her age, and the age has reflected back upon her name and her greatness a lustre beyond the glory of all other reigns, re-establishing the ancient ideal of monarchy, and, in an epoch of wild change and much political commotion at home and abroad, displaying to the world this ancient throne of England securely planted amid falling dynasties and failing republics, like a vast rock in the stormy sea. The population has increased from 25,600,000 in 1837 to about 40,000,000. The aggregate property of the people, calculated by Sir R. Giffen on the basis of the income-tax figures, has been augmented from about £4,000,000,000 to more than £10,000,000,000. Of swelling revenues I have already spoken. Pig-iron, a great test of industrial activity—produced in 1837 to the extent of 1,250,000 tons—was in 1884 made to the extent of more than 7,000,000 tons; of cotton we consumed then 406,000,000 pounds, and now consume over 1,500,000,000 pounds. In foreign trade our advance is more than 450 per cent; the output of coal is twenty-five times greater; the import of tea is 420 per cent, and of tobacco 150 per cent, more than in 1837; while our shipping has risen by 700 per cent, and to-day, by an immense proportion, dominates all the waters of commerce. In 1837 our colonial population was under 4,000,000, but it now stands over 18,000,000, of course excluding India,—which country, under the "*pax Britannica*," has well-nigh doubled its native census. The total area of the British Empire, previously colossal, has grown to 10,000,000 square miles; and the subjects of Her Majesty, all directly looking to her as their sovereign, and ruled by her benignant hand, may be estimated *en bloc* to-day at more than 320,000,000 of human beings.

In locomotion, transport, and intercourse Queen Victoria has seen and presided over a most marvellous progress. Her age has been the age of Steam, as the next will probably be that of Electricity. Not until 1836, as I have remarked, did the railway period really commence, and now more than £1,000,000,000 have been invested in iron lines, making a network over the realm, worked with more than 20,000 locomotives, which earn over £80,000,000 a year and employ nearly 400,000 people. A glance has been given to the prodigious increase of British shipping, and in this iron has supplanted timber for construction, as steam has almost too thoroughly supplanted can-

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vas for those who, like the present writer, love the poetry and passion of the ocean.

To mention the post-office is to speak of an absolute social revolution, for in 1837 only 80,000,000 letters were carried during the year, while now 2,000,000,000 pass almost without a single miscarriage. The electric telegraph and those submarine wires which abolish time and distance, swifter than Ariel engirdling the world, are wholly Victorian; and Victorian also are those numberless mail steamers by which we easily pass to all ports and parts of the habitable globe, most of them under the flag of England. Albeit in 1850, the thirteenth year of the reign, out of 132,800 tons of British shipping, 120,000 tons were built of wood, by 1883 we were launching more than 1,000,000 tons in the year, and had used 4,000,000 tons of iron and steel for building in the seven years preceding 1884. If one would know what value may be added to iron by human manipulation, it is enough to cogitate the single fact that a ton of Bessemer steel costing £60 makes up into 40,000,000 springs worth £400,000, or three times the value of the same quantity of gold!

These crude and almost brutal facts—each one, however, containing a universe of significant development and of human advance within it—are adduced only to remind the readers of THE FORUM of what an age of expansion in England Her Majesty's person has been the centre, the symbol, and, in a very clear and certain sense, one of the actual causes. Of course a similar progress was showing itself in other countries, notably in the United States. The Spaniards have a very true proverb, "*Cuando Dios amanece, por todos amanece*,"—and the light of the Victorian Renaissance was largely participated in by civilization generally. Somewhat peculiar to England, however, was the immense development of popular education. Who can overestimate the effect of Forster's Act, which in fifteen years raised the number of pupils in day-schools from 1,152,389 to 3,371,325? By the same date the public grants for schooling, which had been barely £200,000 in 1837, were enlarged to more than £4,000,000. To break away a little from these grand but fatiguing figures, reflect a moment upon the superb march of science during this unparalleled reign. Huxley, a calm observer, looking back from the heights of his later years, called the Victorian period "a revolution of modern minds." Out of the love of knowledge pursued with single hearts before the reign, or at its commencement, by Herschel and Laplace, Young, Fresnel, Cavendish, Lamarck, Davy, Jussieu, Cuvier, Decandolle,

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Faraday, Tyndall, Darwin, and their like, there sprang under Victoria —as ever springs—the unsought fruit of rich practical applications. The illustrious authority already cited enumerates, as three physical discoveries sufficient to immortalize the reign, the scientific doctrines, first, of the molecular constitution of matter; secondly, of the conservation of energy; thirdly, of evolution as divined by Darwin. That last illustrious name shines of itself like a lonely star of glory sufficient to make splendid the Victorian constellation of talent.

Remember, too, how the benign arts of medicine and remedial surgery extended their borders. From the sanguinary fields of the Crimean war arose, like an angel of compassion and redemption, Florence Nightingale, with all that train of skilled and gentle nurses, afterward following her example, who have altered the history of the sick-room and regenerated our hospitals. Lister's antiseptic treatment of wounds, founded on the wonderful information obtained by the microscope, and such experiments as Pasteur's about infinitesimal life, stripped operations of their previous deadly peril by reason of septic organisms, while—as if science would bestow a fitting boon on the youthful Queen—Simpson in Edinburgh, simultaneously with Wells and Morton in the United States, early in the Victorian Age performed those merciful experiments with chloroform which terminated the epoch of unavoidable anguish for sick and wounded patients, robbed even war of its worst features, and commenced the present blessed era of anæsthetics. Read what a renowned surgeon, Dr. Brudenell Carter, writes about that happy discovery:—

"The use of anæsthetics has changed the whole aspect of surgery. Prior to 1847, operations were few in number, and were almost limited to the amputation of limbs, the removal of cancerous and other tumors, the resection of a few of the larger joints, cutting for stone, and the ligature of main arteries for aneurism. The pain suffered by the patients was so horrible as to tax severely the endurance of the bravest and strongest, and to depress seriously, and often beyond recall, the powers of life. Death from shock was by no means uncommon, the patient sinking in a few hours from the effects of the suffering which he had undergone. The writer well remembers, as a medical student, turning sick and faint at the agonies which he was called upon to witness; and it was a point of honor with operators in those days to abbreviate such agonies as much as possible, and to cultivate speed in operating as the highest and the most valuable form of dexterity. Nothing was attempted which could not be done quickly, and an amputation in the hands of a practised surgeon had almost the appearance of a feat of legerdemain. For the separation of the lower limb above the knee, of course not including dressing, twenty seconds has been known to suffice; and forty seconds was regarded as a period of time which no one was justified in exceeding. When anæsthetics were employed, it came to surgeons as a kind of revelation that they

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need no longer be in haste ; and they have utilized this knowledge in making a leisurely examination of the parts about which they were employed."

It is Queen Victoria, however, whom we are studying, and not any history of her glorious reign; yet such a brief and almost breathless survey of its course as I have dared to proffer is by no means irrelevant even to the strictly personal view. It suffices to recall to the well-informed mind, which will more or less successfully fill up the outlines of these mere allusions, in what a busy and increasing hive of imperial life Her Majesty was the Queen Bee. And if there were space to indicate, in addition, the glories of the Literature of the reign; the achievements of its Art; the large steps taken in the promotion of the love and study of Music; the gradual elevation and recent social recognition of the Drama; the animated pursuit of Philosophy; the sustained cultivation of Learning; and the opening up of unknown Geography, greatly, as of old, by British enterprise,—the conviction would be yet more deeply stamped upon the intelligent mind that such a period in our history needed and had received a providential head. Africa has yielded up almost all her immemorial secrets to Victorian explorers. The vast island of Australia—only a little unveiled by Van Diemen and Cook—kept its treasures of gold and of natural marvels for this favored time. The arrow-headed slabs and cylinders of Assyria, and the larger part of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, with their precious indications, were deciphered for the same fortunate generations. They witnessed also, as has been remarked, that sudden transformation of the navies of the world from its old material of timber to the new armor-clad pattern and fabric which—thanks to the iron and coal hidden away by nature in the English soil, to the skill and ingenuity of her children, and to the accumulated wealth drawn from that commerce which the Queen's flag protects—has given to Great Britain a real and visible sovereignty of the seas. We are as yet, apparently, far from the Millennium, and our period has unhappily been checkered by many wars, in most or all of which, however, that flag has been upheld, upon many a sanguinary field, by the soldiers of Her Majesty, with a faithful valor recognized and admired by all the world; so that neither the vast armed multitudes of Russia, nor the sepoy in rebellion, nor any enemy in any conflict, has seriously broken the haughty tradition of British Victory, embodied and sustained in the Queen's dear name.

The august and illustrious figure which has been the centre, the

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token, and the imperial presiding genius of all this progress and prosperity can never be detached in history from the magnificent records of her time. The story of her life and the story of her people's life have flowed onward together, inextricably blended, indissolubly connected. At the bottom of the might and energy and enterprise illustrated by all majestic chapters in the chronicles of England have ever been from the first the deep religious instincts and the strong family affections of the people, both of which the Queen's royal nature was created to embody, reflect, and exemplify. Her household, from its days of bride-joy and domestic sunshine to its days of widowhood and lonely duties, has been like that chief and special golden queen-cell in the hive, round which all the others cluster, and by the welfare of which they measure and regulate their own. Among the wives of England this sceptred wife; among the mothers of the land this crowned mother; among the widows of her people this throned Lady Victoria, whose sorrow seemed the sorest, as her burden was the greatest,—has been always one of the women of the realm, representing them all, leading them all, understood by them all. The English have homely and domestic ways of manifesting national feelings: for example, they love their navy and take enormous pride in it, in consequence of which strangers in our confines are amused to notice how very many boy-children are dressed by their fond mothers in the garb of a British blue-jacket. The least reflective visitor can perceive that here, at least, is a people which will grudge no public money to sustain the navy. So it would be curious and significant to know how many girl-children in the realm bear for good fortune and for loyalty the names of their Royal Highnesses the Princesses of the Blood, a goodly number of whom have grown up round the knees of the Queen. At the root of her greatness has surely been her gentleness. The half-forgotten Court gossip of the past is full of little tales of the tenderness which underlies the well-known force and firmness of Her Majesty. When, on the death of King William the Fourth, Queen Adelaide wrote to the young Victoria announcing the event, the acceded Princess replied by a gentle and respectful letter which she addressed to "The Queen of England"; and when a lady of the Court humbly remonstrated, saying, "Your Majesty, you only are Queen of England," the pretty reply was given: "Yes, but Aunt Adelaide must not be reminded of that by me." And when, at taking the oath of allegiance, the two Royal Dukes bowed low before her to touch her hand with their lips, she kissed them gravely, raising them from the ground, saying to the

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Duke of Sussex, "Do not kneel, dear uncle; if I am Queen, I am also your niece!"

The royal marriage and the happy married years ensuing, for a while made the heavy circlet of empire lighter on that most gracious and noble brow. The Princess Royal was born (since, in her own exalted turn, an Empress and a widow), and a year later the birth of our Prince of Wales rejoiced the whole country. The Queen then, as always, possessed two Empires, that of Great Britain and of her own household, and a month after the coming of the Heir Apparent she wrote to King Leopold of Belgium:—

"I wonder very much who my little boy will be like. You will understand how fervent are my prayers—and I am sure everybody's must be—to see him resemble his father in every respect, both in body and mind. . . . We must all have trials and vexations; but if one's home is happy, then the rest is comparatively nothing. My happiness at home and the love of my husband, his kindness, his advice, his support, his company, make up for all."

See how the Queen loved and loves that thoroughly English word "home,"—the secret of the story of nation and sovereign alike! Its utmost meaning is not felt or known by those who translate it into "*chez lui*" or "*chez moi*," and it tends to evaporate in regions where life is carried on in flats and hotels. Climate and the English instinct for isolation have had something to do with the intensity of sentiment which has come to cluster round the word; but that word is the most truly English and the most significant of all in our dictionary, so that Shakespeare could find no better one for Heaven when he wrote:—

"Thou thy worldly task hast done,
Home art gone, and ta'en thy wages."

It is round the royal home that the progress and accumulation of power, wealth, and intellect of which I have spoken steadfastly grew throughout all these great and fortunate years. Home love and home joys—nay, indeed—home sorrows also—have fed the Queen's heart with the forces and the faith necessary to enable her to bear her majestic load of care and toil for England. In all her words and deeds and thoughts the sacredness of these sentiments and of simple human love shines within the precincts of her sovereignty like a golden lamp in a palace of marble.

I am so privileged as to possess from the gracious hands of the Queen herself, and enriched with her own beautiful handwriting, the two well-known volumes from her pen entitled "Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands," and "More Leaves from the Journal

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of a Life in the Highlands." It is almost impossible to open these books anywhere without finding playful but solid manifestations of those two feelings forever governing Her Majesty's great and generous heart,—the love of home, and the love of her people. There befalls no disaster to the mining or industrial classes; no dreadful wrecks at sea; no sad railway accident on land; no striking sorrow; no sudden public loss,—but the motherly love of the Queen is promptly shown in tender and graceful words of pity and sympathy which she knows so well how to employ; and many a sorrowful soul has been thus comforted. For her army and her navy, whenever and wherever they serve herself and the country, her solicitude is, and has ever been, intense and vigilant. A thousand instances might be adduced of this, which needs indeed no other proof than the ardent loyalty of those who—from the barrack to the field-marshal's tent, from the forecastle to the admiral's cabin—wear "the Widow's uniform." Is it thought that such an influence must be sentimental only? In truth it is a force, and has been a force, like that of a great military leader's personal presence. When, in 1853, Her Majesty's heart was weighed down with anxiety for her soldiers in the Crimea, who were severely suffering, it was her own hand which wrote again and again to headquarters directing or suggesting ameliorations. And when Lord Raglan was leaving Windsor to return to his command in the Crimean camp, it is reported that one of the little Princesses said to him: "You must hurry back to Sebastopol, please, Lord Raglan, and take it, or mamma will die of her anxiety." Not merely in name has our Sovereign Lady been Commander-in-Chief of the naval and military forces of the realm. I have watched with amusement and admiration before now, at a levee in the Palace, some general officer of proud renown and superb warlike achievements crumpling up his white gloves into a ball, and nervously fidgetting from head to foot, with a tremor never felt in the presence of Death or of the enemy, as his turn came to pass the barrier and be announced by the Lord Chamberlain to his military superior, Her Majesty the Queen.

I doubt if a better proof could be furnished of this wide and comprehensive royal interest in all her subjects than the fact—slight but significant—that the Queen should have set herself to learn Hindostani, the language of her Indian people, and should have so mastered it as to be able to read and write, as well as to converse in, this *lingua franca* of the Oriental Peninsula. I subjoin a passage in Her Majesty's own writing, which lately appeared in one of our magazines; and those who

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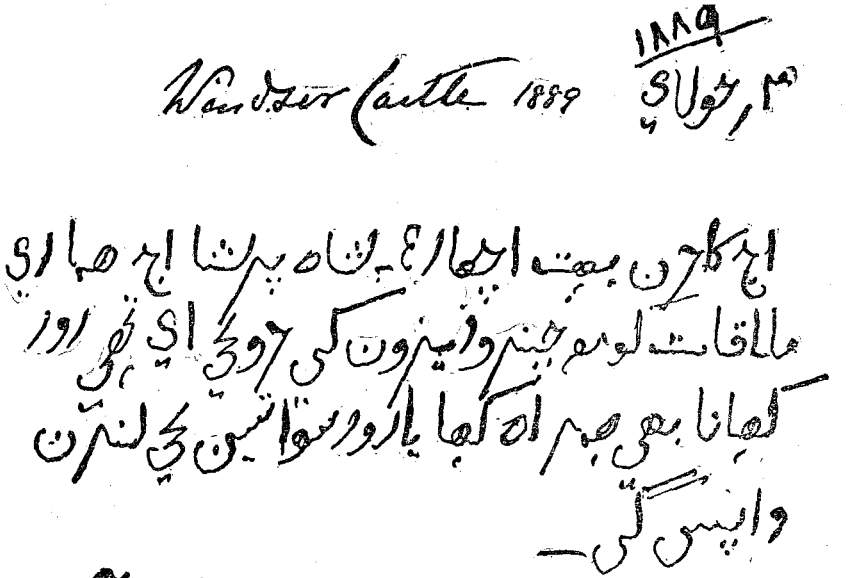
know the character will smile respectfully to see how she gets over a verbal difficulty in such a word as "Persia":—


Windsor Castle 1889
آج کا دن بہت اچھا تھا۔ شاہ پرشا آج ہمارے
ملاقات لو۔ہم چیز وزیروں کی ہوئی ای تھی اور
کھانا بھی ہم اہ کھا یا اور دو بجے ٹین بجے لنڈن
واپس گئی۔
To day was very fine. The Shah
of Persia came to see me today
with some of his Ministers
at two o'clock and took
luncheon with me, and
returned to London at a quarter
past three.—

There would be risk of being suspected of exaggeration if I attempted to say—as I might speak from my own knowledge—how widely this mark of sincere sympathy and concern has affected the Princes and the peoples of India. The Mohammedans especially, of whom the Queen rules more than sixty millions, and to whom Hindo-

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stani as a tongue particularly belongs, have heard with delight and pride of the Diary which Her Majesty keeps in Urdu, and at this day the *Maharani*, the *Kaiser-i-Hind*, the *Adhirajni*,—"Victoria the Empress,"—is for the mass of her subjects in India a power, an influence, absolutely immeasurable for the service of peace and obedience, almost touching, among the reverential and susceptible Hindoos, the region of the gods.

If these appear to any republican or democratic critic to be appreciations which go beyond fair limits into regions of flattery, I would tell him that both he and I should equally fail in estimating the national and historical values of such a life and such a personality as Queen Victoria's. He may object on principle to the immense and probably the enduring revindication which the reign has given to the monarchical principle. He may feel it almost fatal to his collectivism and to those doctrines of equality which Nature so universally repudiates, to see illustrated by this unparalleled reign how national and international history may be modified and controlled by the love, the purity, the dutifulness, and the piety of one woman's heart and soul, because a diadem sate upon her brow, and because her shining, sweet, and august example was set like a city upon a hill. But, in proportion as he is intelligent and reasonable, he must accept facts; and if he knows something of the science of dynamics in the physical world, he will be the readier to confess the prodigious social, moral, and political results which cannot but flow from the concentration, upon one object so near the ideal as this one has grown to appear, of the love, loyalty, and gratitude of the whole Anglo-Saxon race. There are accomplished mathematicians who can compute so nicely the celestial and cosmic forces which, on this side and that, hold planets in their place, that new worlds have been discovered, not by searching the sky, but by manipulating the calculations. But who shall give us the calculus by which God's blessing to England through this good Queen can be worked out in all its human ramifications and far social effects? In abdicating actual power—because in our crowned republic the sovereign rules but does not govern—Victoria found and annexed a whole new Empire for the occupants of the English throne, that of Influence. "Let me make the songs of a people," said a shrewd statesman, "and anybody who will may make the laws." So might a monarch say: "Let me reign in the hearts of a people, and anybody may be Ministers of the Government!" Looking back along the vista of these past six decades, and noting what convulsions, what bloodshed,

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what loss of life and growth and national resources have befallen from pushing too far the theories of democracy, it does not seem so much a thought of courtiership as of common gratitude toward Heaven to recall that solemn passage from the Persian of Sadi, "When the Lord of the World is pleased with the hearts of a people, He gives them a Sovereign wise and just."

I should deem it disrespectful to offer too particular an analysis of the character, too close a picture of the person, of this beloved Mistress, whose Imperial individuality is besides so well known from her life, her acts, her books, and the "fierce light which beats upon a throne." The heart of gold, the will of iron, the royal temper of steel, the pride, the patriotism, and the deep piety of Victoria have been enshrined in a small but vigorous frame, the *mignonne* aspect of which especially strikes those who behold her for the first time in these her "chair-days." It was reported how, when Prince Albert was dying, he roused himself from a period of wandering to turn with ineffable love to his spouse and Sovereign, saying to her with a kiss, "Good little wife!" And when the Prince Consort was actually passing away, after those twenty-one years of wedded happiness, it was told how the Queen bent over him and whispered, "It is your *little* wife," at which last words the Angel of Death stayed his hand while once again the dear eyes opened and the dying lips smiled. But though this be so, no one who has been honored by near approach to Her Majesty, or has ever tarried in her presence, will fail to testify to the extreme majesty of her bearing, mingled always with the most perfect grace and gentleness. Her voice has, moreover, always been pleasant and musical to hear, and is so now. The hand which holds the sceptre of the seas is the softest that can be touched; the eyes which have grown dim with labors of state for England, and with too frequent tears, are the kindest that can be seen. Not for a day nor for an hour did the Queen ever suspend the performance of her royal and imperial duties during the many sorrows which have fallen upon her, nor in the comparative seclusion which she has sometimes kept. The Duke of Argyll truly wrote once:—

"It ought to be known to all the people of this country that during all the years of the Queen's affliction, and those when she has lived necessarily in much retirement, she has omitted no part or portion of that public duty which constantly concerns her as sovereign of this country; that on no occasion during her grief has she discontinued work in those royal labors which belong to her exalted position."

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How great and experienced a statesman she shows herself, every competent British Minister has testified. She is, in fact, the highest living authority upon the practical politics of Europe, and knows and understands constitutional problems with an intellectual grasp which has never been relaxed. It is from a radical and republican source that the subjoined tribute has been culled :—

"Broadly speaking, it may be fairly said by all her Ministers, Liberal and Conservative, that she has more knowledge of the business of governing nations than any of her Prime Ministers ; more experience of the mysteries and intricacies of foreign affairs than any of her Foreign Secretaries ; as loyal and willing a subservience to the declared will of the nation as any democrat in Parliament ; and as keen and passionate an Imperial patriotism as ever beat in any human breast."

Such, and so great, so useful, so benign, so faithful,—sketched in these most imperfect outlines,—has been and is the Sovereign Lady upon whom nearly sixty years ago the vast burden of the British Empire was laid, and to whom, amid trials and losses as great as could be borne, Sorrow and Death and Destiny have constantly cried :—

" Break not, O woman's heart ! but still endure ;
Break not, for thou art Royal, but endure ! "

The noble heart has not broken, because the Faith which made Victoria begin this reign upon her knees has sustained the Queen ; because the fervent love of the people, given in exchange for her love, has brought her daily strength ; and because a mighty and majestic charge, not yet completed,—an Imperial charge involving for her nation immense blessings, and entailing for herself eternal rewards, —was committed by the Almighty God to her chosen and most competent hands, for divine purposes, and with destined ends.

EDWIN ARNOLD.

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THE FRENCH ACADEMY.

In the estimation of many the *Académie Française* constitutes a literary body much less numerous and a little more celebrated than the *Société des Gens de Lettres*. For others it is a *salon* of men of the world, wherein, peradventure, a few writers may be found. It is a Madame Tussaud's museum of French celebrities; a cabinet of mummies; the antechamber of Père Lachaise; the Pantheon of the living. Besides this it is a very aged lady with a wooden head, who once a week, in a chilly place, receives forty invalids and valetudinarians possessing the wits of four. It is, as said Voltaire, "the conservatory of taste." Later, Alphonse Daudet called it "a hollow idol; nothing; the under side of nothing." According to Lacordaire it is "the senate of French intelligence," and Guy de Maupassant described it as "the play of death and of forty old men." It may thus be easily observed that in France the most diverse opinions are held concerning this institution; and as I do not know the estimation in which it is held in the United States, I will endeavor to tell what the Academy is in reality.

It is very generally known that Cardinal Richelieu was the founder of the French Academy, and the foundation occurred in this manner. Toward the year 1633 certain writers, such as Godeau, Chapelain, and Conrart; and several learned gentlemen, like Habert, commissary of artillery, Claude de Malleville, Jacques de Serizay,—met once a week, sometimes at one house, sometimes at another, with the common purpose of discussing literature and mutually imparting their written work. These reunions became known to Cardinal Richelieu, then Prime Minister, and occupied in the pursuit of a double purpose,—the unity of France and an absolute monarchy. He conceived the idea of making this little literary society serve his own great ends. On the one hand it should regulate the French language by expunging cant expressions, local speech, and provincialisms, and thus concur in the establishment of French unity; while on the other hand the more important writers would be enrolled in an official body over whom the throne, while affording protection, should also dominate. Richelieu wished to disci-

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pline and enslave literature to the monarchical power. Finally the Cardinal, who was himself a writer, saw a means of satisfying his vanity in creating himself the protector of a literary body. From the outset the members of the society—tranquil and modest men—looked with displeasure on the overtures of the Cardinal, and endeavored, but unsuccessfully, to evade them.

New members became associated with the society (for it was only in the fourth year after the founding of the Academy that the membership was increased to forty), and it became necessary to give a name to the association. Struck by the name "Academy," the question arose,—Academy of what? Some wished it to be "*l'Académie des Beaux-Esprits*"; others, again, desired the name "*Académie de l'Eloquence.*" "*Académie Eminente*" was also proposed. Finally the choice fell upon the name which should have been originally selected,—"*Académie Française,*"—at once the grandest and the simplest. Statutes were drawn up which, throughout two and a half centuries, have suffered scarcely any change. Three officers were elected: a Perpetual Secretary, charged with the preparation of the work of the association and the recording of its resolutions; a Director, to preside at the meetings and to conduct the discussions; and a Chancellor, who was to have the custody of the archives and the seal. As the name indicates, the Perpetual Secretary was appointed for life. The other officers were nominated for the term of a year, though they are now appointed for a trimester.

The early part of January, 1635, saw the Academy formally established by letters patent given by Louis XIII and enrolled by Parliament. Richelieu's intention was to build a palace for the reunions of the Academy on a projected place which should be known as the "Place Ducale." In the meanwhile the sessions of the Academicians were held in the home of the Perpetual Secretary, Conrart. On the death of Richelieu, Séguier, Chancellor of France, who was already a member of the Academy, was elected Protector, thus replacing the Cardinal. Séguier placed his magnificent mansion at the disposition of the Academy, in which an enormous chamber was devoted to the meetings. In turn Séguier died in 1672. The Academy now had the most serious difficulty in procuring a new Protector. It was observed by d'Alembert that "the title was too grand for any one but the sovereign." It thus befell that Louis XIV was chosen to the office, while M. de Harlay, Archbishop of Paris, and a member of the Academy, became the deputy of the king, who acceded to the proposition.

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The Academy went in a body to thank the king, who caused each member to be presented by M. de Harlay, and finally closed the audience by observing to Colbert, who was also a member: "You will inform me of everything which it may be necessary for me to do for these gentlemen."

A few days later it became known that the king had placed at the disposal of the Academy in perpetuity a magnificent room in the Palace of the Louvre, in which to hold its sessions, with an ample provision of lights, heating, clerks, copyists, and servants. He also made a gift of the 660 valuable volumes which he had gathered as the nucleus of his library; and provision was made that each member should receive, at every session which he attended, a piece of money worth six livres, —a sum equivalent to twenty-one francs of our present money. Louis XIV further decreed that the French Academy should be admitted to the honor of addressing him on occasions of solemnity, similarly with the Parliament and the great bodies of state; and that the Academicians were to be received at court on occasions of festivals or spectacular displays,—privileges which until this time had been accorded only to the nobility and other great personages.

Richelieu, when creating the Academy, thought to enslave the body of authors to the royal authority; but in fact he effected quite the contrary. He had emancipated them and raised them to be a power in the state. The Academy being composed of men of letters and nobles, among whom equality reigned and in which each one called the other by the simple title, "Monsieur," its members, being equal as Academicians, very speedily arrived at a feeling of equality as individuals.[1]

The new honors and privileges which Louis XIV conceded to the Academicians only augmented the estimation in which men of letters had come to consider themselves. The curiosity of Queen Christina of Sweden to be present at a meeting of the Academy gave rise to the question whether the members should remain standing while she was present. The decision was, however, in the negative, and directly the Queen was placed the members took their seats. Very soon they even resisted the wishes of Louis XIV. The king having formally manifested a wish that Beaulieu should be elected, they proceeded to elect

[1] This spirit of equality was manifested in the following incident: In 1713, the aged and infirm Cardinal d'Estries, becoming fatigued from sitting for two consecutive hours in a common chair, asked to be provided with an arm-chair. The Academy, desiring neither to disoblige the Cardinal nor to accord him a special privilege, determined to ask for forty arm-chairs for their hall of session, a request to which the king immediately acceded.

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La Fontaine. Under the Regency the Academy decreed the exclusion of the Abbé Saint-Pierre, the friend and *protégé* of the Regent, without disquietude as to the displeasing effect on their all-powerful protector. Under Louis XV another *protégé* of the court having presented himself for membership, and having told Duclos, then Perpetual Secretary, that in view of his great age and his infirmities he would not long encumber the Academy, Duclos replied, "Eh! Monsieur! the Academy is not an extreme unction." And this opinion of Duclos was indorsed in the election of Buffon. The successive elections of philosophers and encyclopædists were so distasteful to the court that, shortly after the accession of Louis XVI, it was noised abroad that the Prince, dissatisfied with the dominant tone of the Academy, intended to suppress it.

It was decreed, however, that the Revolution should suppress the French Academy in common with others: namely, the Academy of Inscriptions, founded in 1663; the Academy of Science, founded in 1666; and the Academy of Fine Arts, founded in 1671. The services which the Academicians had rendered to letters, to science, and to art; their introduction into the old society of the first ideas of equality,—were all in vain: the Academy was none the less an institution of royalty, a privileged body,—and the Revolution would have no more privileged bodies. On the 8th of August, 1793, the Convention passed a decree to suppress the former academies. Less than eighteen months later this same Convention in a manner re-established them under the name of the National Institute, forming three sections: the first comprising the sciences of physics and mathematics; the second, the moral and political sciences; the third, literature and the fine arts. From this period dates the uniform which is still worn by the members at public ceremonials, and in which they appear at the solemn functions of the Institute. It consists of a long coat, of which the skirt and collar are embroidered in green; a cocked hat trimmed with black feathers and decorated with the national cockade; and a dress sword with a hilt of mother-of-pearl and gold.

This uniform, which has given to the Academicians the nickname of "Parrots," was worn on several occasions by Napoleon Bonaparte, who became a member of the Department of Science (Section of Mechanics) after his first campaign in Italy. On his return from Egypt, when contemplating the *coup-d'état* which should result in bringing him into power, he refrained from making an appearance at public ceremonies in military garb, lest he should give umbrage to the civil power. Neither did he wish to wear the plain frock coat common to

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the citizen, and which appeared to him to lack distinction. During the months of September and October, 1799, he therefore repeatedly wore the famous parrot-dress and the pacific sword of his fellow members of the Institute. Upon his election as First Consul, Bonaparte gave a new organization to the Institute, which henceforth was to be composed of four distinct sections: the first being that of Sciences, corresponding to the former Academy of Science; the second, that of French Language and Literature, corresponding to the former French Academy; the third, that of History and Ancient Literature, corresponding to the Academy of Inscriptions; and the fourth, that of Fine Arts, corresponding to the former Academy of Fine Arts. The plan of reorganization, elaborated by Chaptal, had but these four sections, although constituting the entire Institute under the name of Academy, which was now assumed as before. Napoleon did not desire this, however, considering that it savored too much of the *ancien régime;* but, notwithstanding that the name of Academy was not officially restored, it sufficed that it was employed by the Institute. Toutanes, then Grand Master of the University, wrote to the Perpetual Secretary of the French Academy: "I may tell you, confidentially, that the four sections can reassume the name of Academy without causing general displeasure." Also, on March 5, 1803, Lacretelle observed in the speech which he made at his reception: "All honor to the reorganization of the Academies. The French Academy is constructed afresh." And a year later another Academician, François de Neufchâteau, also said at a public session: "The French Academy lives. The period of good taste has come again." All the former members still living reentered the society by right and without vote, with the exception of two who were abroad under the ban of the emigrant law.

In 1806 the Institute received a grant of the former College of the Four Nations, in which to hold its sessions and locate its offices and library. The vast buildings situated on the quay facing the Louvre received the name of Palace of the Institute. The enlarged chapel, crowned by the famous cupola, was arranged for the public sessions; and henceforth the Academicians were at home,—a matter of far greater value than to be the guest of the king. Louis XVIII officially reestablished the name of "Academy," and gave to the society the rank of pre-eminence held by it during a hundred and fifty years. Louis Philippe added a fifth section to the Institute, under the name of the "Academy of Moral and Political Sciences." Since then not a single modification has been effected in the organization of the Institute or of

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the French Academy. To the honors and prerogatives received from the old monarchy the French Academy has added others, which have come to it from the hands of the Republic and from the First Empire, in much that constitutes the rank of the Institute, such as the donning of the uniform, the attendance of a detachment of troops of the line at its public ceremonies, and a determined grade of precedence on great occasions of ceremony and in official processions. It may be of interest to know that the Academicians follow after the Council of State, the Court of the Exchequer, and the Supreme Court, but go before the Court of Session, the high government officials, the Prefects, the General and Municipal Councils, the Faculties, the Corps of Instructors, and the Tribunals.

I have shown the position of the Academy in French society during two hundred and fifty years, and the advantages it has brought to the profession of letters. But I have not spoken of its occupation, its mission, or its practical utility. An institution concerned only with mere matters of luxury could possess no rational excuse for either its existence or its continuance. The principal occupation of the Academy, pursued without cessation, and having in its completion but a perpetual recommencement, has been the Dictionary. I already hear the exclamation: "The Dictionary! But that is surely a joke! The Academy will never finish it. After two hundred and fifty years it has not yet completed the letter A!" I will therefore endeavor to dispel the confusion existing in many minds. The Academy has two Dictionaries. One of these, which was begun in 1778, is the "Historical Dictionary," whose plan was suggested by Voltaire. It is a compilation of etymology and history, and of the variations in the significance of words set forth in numerous examples as attested by every French writer inclusively since the fifteenth century. Although this Dictionary has in fact only reached the letter A, it has been published in an enormous quarto volume. It will never be completed. The Academy decided, some twelve years ago, to abandon the work.

There is, however, beside the Historical Dictionary, a "Dictionary of Usage," wherein are given only the words with their different acceptations and short and decisive examples of ordinary use. From 1694 to 1878 seven editions of this work have been published, each radically differing from the others. Indeed a language is constantly subjected to modification. The sense of one word is altered; another word is no longer employed; still another is created to meet a new

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requirement,—as "telegram" or "bicyclet"; or a modern thought must find expression,—as "decentralization" or "pessimism." It is the same with orthography, in which the constant tendency is toward simplification. In the seventeenth century one wrote, "*il debvoit*"; in the eighteenth century, "*il devoit*"; to-day we write, "*il devait.*"

The Dictionary is framed as a standard, and hence, like a veritable labor of Penelope, must be begun again as soon as it is finished. In the matter of orthography the Dictionary of the Academy is an authority in all institutions of learning, and it would be almost an impossibility for a printing-office to diverge therefrom in spelling.

The office of the Academy is not to create, but to register words of pure language and such as are usually employed; and while it acknowledges the privilege of all to create new words, it retains the right to exclude neologisms from the Dictionary wherever it may judge them to be barbarian or of very restricted usage. The work of this department is carried on by six members, named for life, who, assisted by the Perpetual Secretary, prepare the work. Each word is next submitted by the chairman to the approval of the assembled Academy. The discussions are occasionally exceedingly protracted. Particular words occupy an entire session. The Duc d'Aumale, an immensely clever historian, and one of the most learned men I have ever known, takes an active part in these discussions, his opinion being very generally accepted more on account of its intrinsic merit than because of his rank. Two years ago the Academy proposed an orthographic reform on phonetic principles (a style of writing, let me say parenthetically, pertaining to cooks). The discussion was very lively, but the Duc d'Aumale's exclamation, "You will never induce me to write '*philosophie*'—'*filosofie*,'" buried the proposed reform.

Besides the Dictionary the Academy has another great work: namely, the awards. Previous to 1780 there were only two prizes for annual distribution. But since that period various legacies and donations have provided an annual sum of 200,000 francs for awards,—the *prix de vertu* and the literary prizes. The prizes for literature are awarded in special competitions for prose and poetry, and also for works of literature, history, and criticism which are of recent date. Each year sees not less than five hundred manuscripts in verse or prose and some three hundred printed works presented before the French Academy. These works are distributed among committees composed of four Academicians, who submit them to a personal examination at home, followed by a discussion in committee. Decisions are adopted or rejected by the full Academy.

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A similar procedure takes place for the *prix de vertu* on reports which flow in from every part of France. These *prix de vertu*, of which the first was established in 1784 by M. de Montyon, have quadrupled since that epoch. They are awarded to poor persons who have accomplished some act of charity, devotion, or courage. The annual discourse, pronounced in public by an Academician, demonstrates by the most touching examples what a treasury of charity lies within the human breast. The *prix de vertu* are decreed to the humble, to the poor; to those who have nothing, and who, possessing nothing, yet give all, since they give themselves.

From July to December a weekly session is held on Thursday; but from January to June,—the period during which the bestowal of the prizes must be considered,—bi-weekly meetings are held on Tuesday and Thursday. To these two sessions add the committee meetings, and the time spent at home in perusing the works presented in competition, and it may readily be seen that the position of an Academician is not precisely a sinecure. Certainly the 1,500 francs annually allowed as compensation are honestly earned by the members of the Academy. In 1865 Napoleon III considered the expediency of increasing the remuneration to 6,000 francs. Some of the more eminent among the members were consulted, but they, wishing the title of "Academician" to remain purely honorary, refused to consider the question.

In connection with the insignificant salary paid by the Academy, I recall a neat saying of Eugène Labiche. The day subsequent to his election he received an invitation to dine with a great lady, who, although she had long known him, had never before invited him to her table, having been quite satisfied to ask him to her receptions. In the midst of the dinner his hostess inquired, "How much is one paid at the Institute?" "Madame," replied Labiche, "we receive only 1,500 francs—but we are fed!"

The labors laid upon the Academy (I do not mention dining-out, which is also a labor) can only be augmented, as with each year new endowments for awards cause a proportional increase in the works presented to the committees. Some day (a day which all must hope will be far distant) the fortune of the Academy—and, as a natural sequence, its burden—will be very considerably augmented. This will be when, by the demise of the Duc d'Aumale, his property of Chantilly will have become vested in the Institute of France. In 1885 the Duc d'Aumale made a gift to the Institute of this vast estate, with its forest of 50,000 acres, while retaining the usufruct. Included in the gift are

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the *château*—as large as that of Versailles—and the marvellous collections of art that are contained in it. The value of all this is estimated at from 50,000,000 to 60,000,000 francs. The Institute must then be occupied with the administration of the estate and the enlargement of the present collections, while the surplus revenues will be employed to establish awards bearing the name of "Prizes of the Duc d'Aumale."

Such an increase of fortune constitutes both a burden and a danger for the Institute. Who shall say whether some day a revolutionary government may not suppress the Institute in order to obtain its possessions, as in 1794, when the wealthy suffered on the guillotine because condemnation to death entailed a confiscation of property. In any case, this spoliation—possible even if not probable—can be neither an advantage to literature and the sciences, nor a help to the poor. The French Academy has, as a labor, the Dictionary, and as a mission the distribution of prizes for literature and virtue. There appertains to it also a purely moral side which I have often heard defined as follows by Ernest Renan:—

"The government of intellectual matters in France results in a sort of equilibrium between three powers: the government, the Academies, and the public. These three powers are not always in accord, and their very disagreement is a guarantee for authors, scholars, and artists. Irresponsible senates, the Academies show themselves at times narrow and prejudiced; but the government which bestows the honors, the employment, and the pensions, and the public who give the celebrity, correct the unjust exclusions of the Institute. On the other hand, were the government the only master of genius, the natural inclination would be to recompense only the men belonging to its own faction; while, were the public the sole arbitrators, certain writers, inaccessible to the masses by the very nature of their work, would see themselves disdained. The Academies are here to indemnify the independent intelligence against the malevolence of government, and such as are passed over by the public by reason of talents it cannot appreciate. The Academicians are also here to shut their doors against fortune-winning charlatans, and to make them expiate in this manner an unmerited success and a usurped reputation."

If a good many people have something to say against the French Academy, no one at least can contest the merit that it is in the fashion. Certainly there are no fewer men of excellence in the other Academies than in this one, nor have they rendered less service to science or the fine arts than have these men to letters. But they are much less discussed, and in consequence they are infinitely less in the fashion. To give one example among many, let us see the difference between an election at the French Academy and at one of the others.

A member of the Academy of Science dies. Three or four candi-

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dates present themselves for the vacancy. Scarcely a newspaper notices the fact. The election takes place two or three months later, and eight days afterward the newly elected member takes his seat with no formalities whatever. The newspapers announce the election in three lines among the news items for the day, and that is all.

Very different is the case when one dies an "Immortal,"—that is to say, a member of the French Academy. From the day following the demise the papers announce the names of the probable candidates. From time to time during several months (for at the French Academy a period varying from eight to ten or even twelve months is permitted to elapse between a vacancy and an election) the papers discuss these new candidates. They then announce the fact that the Academy has declared the succession to be open; that Mr. X has sent in his letter of candidacy; that Mr. Y has begun to make his round of visits; that Mr. Z has not yet determined the point, but that no doubt he will present himself at the last moment. Beside this information, exhaustive articles are printed concerning the rights of the candidates to the position, and the chances of their ultimate success. The manner in which the votes will be cast receives thorough discussion, and the exact figures of the various ballots and the probability of "dark horses" and "outsiders" are thoroughly canvassed in *salons* and clubs as well as in the newspapers, while bets are made as at the races. This lively discussion often renders people celebrated solely on account of their numerous and always unfortunate candidacies, and this system of self-advertisement is frequently employed with no hope whatever of final success, a sufficiency of satisfaction being found in merely assuming the position of candidates!

The day of election arrives. Next day the result is published in the newspapers, with an accompaniment of criticism, biographies, and interviews, and full-face and profile photographs of the new member. Nor is this all. A formal reception generally takes place about a year after the election. During the interval the newspapers make frequent mention of the "new Academician," announcing such items as—who will entertain him; who will be his sponsors; at what date the reception will occur; that he is preparing his speech; that he has finished it; that it has been put into the hands of the Academician whose duty it will be to reply; that the two speeches have been read to the commission. Then comes the reception, and the following day the newspapers reproduce the speeches with criticism or praise, while the reporters discuss the audience at length. In fact these receptions are

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most elegant, and are greatly frequented. Even society women take great pains to obtain a place. The Academicians and their friends, and particularly the Perpetual Secretary, are assailed with petitions. The reception has all the charm of a great "first representation," though even more alluring, since admittance cannot be obtained through payment of money. It is at the same time a contest of eloquence and a concourse of beauty and fashionable dress.

To what must the vogue enjoyed by the French Academy over the other Academies be attributed? To the brilliancy of its receptions? No,—since these are a result rather than a cause. To its pre-eminence over the other sections of the Institute,—a pre-eminence due to the sovereignty of age and the privilege of presenting new members to the Chief of the State? By no means,—the public does not trouble itself with these details. Is it, then, because great scientists like the late M. Pasteur, famous mathematicians like M. Bertrand, or erudite scholars like M. Littré, have presented themselves before the French Academy,—although already members of the Institute,—in recognition, as it were, of a certain superiority, a choice within a choice, somewhat as if it were the typical Senate of the Institute? This may in a manner be the case. But in my opinion another cause, of far greater influence, orders the prestige of the French Academy. The plain fact is that the Academy, being open to all, excites, by this very condition, a greater envy and ambition than the other Academies, with the natural result of producing the greatest amount of general interest. The explanation is easy. I once read in a "Civic Catechism" (such is the name given it!) in use in the primary schools the question, "Can any French citizen become President of the Republic?" Answer: "Yes, any French citizen may become President of the Republic." The rule which governs the Presidency of the Republic controls also a seat in the French Academy. Any French citizen may become an Academician. To enter the Academy of Sciences it is necessary to be a scientist; to enter the Academy of Inscriptions it is necessary to be a scholar; to enter the French Academy it is in no wise essential to be an author. It is sufficient to occupy a high place in political life, to be well born, or to possess talent of some sort. A minister; a lawyer; a deputy; a bishop; an engineer; a general; an explorer; a diplomat; a chemist,—may be elected to the French Academy without so much as ever having written more than the mere letter to propose his candidacy. It may readily be understood what ambitions are awakened by the position since all may aspire to it. And the sensation caused by the occur-

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rence of a vacancy is the natural consequence of a widespread interest. If, therefore, the French Academy would preserve, with its place in literature, a similar popularity in French society, care must be taken to guard against becoming an exclusively literary association.

Its choice must continue to fall not alone upon professional writers, but among the celebrated of other occupations. It must remain the high assemblage of all the illustrious of France. It must tend toward creating, as it has done in the past, an equality from above; that is to say, to cause a plain man of letters elected to the French Academy to be held in equal consideration with a minister of state, a *grand seigneur* (if one still exists), or a famous general; and for the very reason that a prime minister, a *grand seigneur*, or a famous general presents his candidacy and climbs five flights of stairs to pay the simple man of letters the obligatory visit, the fact is demonstrated that he is proud to become the *confrère* of such a man of letters.

In conclusion I may mention (in the order of their priority) thirty-four actual members of the French Academy. I say "thirty-four" since six vacancies exist by reason of death. The following is a list:—

Ernest Legouvé, who has experienced a veritable theatrical success, and who at 89 years of age still continues to write the most charming reminiscences of youth.

Le Duc de Broglie, formerly prime minister, and ambassador at London, and a talented historian.

Émile Ollivier, an orator without a rival, whose name belongs to history.

Le Duc d'Aumale, the conqueror of Abd-el-Kader, and the historian of the Princes of Condé.

Alfred Mezières, professor at the Sorbonne, deputy, President of the Military Commission, and a keen critic of English, German, and Italian literature.

Jules Simon, who has been everything,—professor, journalist, deputy, prime minister, and senator,—and who above everything else has written with the utmost talent.

Gaston Boissier, the great Latinist, the learned historian of Cicero, the most amiable and erudite guide to a journey through ancient Rome.

Victorien Sardou, whose work, with the exception of "La Haine," which is his *chef-d'œuvre*, has met with immense success.

Edmond Rousse, formerly president of the bench, with a witty word and a clever pen.

René Sully-Prudhomme, the profound and exquisite poet.

Victor Cherbuliez, the delightful novelist and writer.

Adolphe Perraud, the Bishop of Autun.

Édouard Pailleron, author of "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie."

François Coppée, author of "Passant" and "Pour la Couronne,"—the poet at once familiar and heroic.

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Joseph Bertrand, the celebrated mathematician, Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Science.

Ludovic Halévy, who has written twenty pieces of the greatest spirituality, and a little book, a masterpiece of reflection,—"M. and Madame Cardinet."

Léon Say, the great economist, formerly director of the "Journal des Débats," Prefect of the Seine, ambassador, minister, and President of the Senate.

Édouard Hervé, one of the foremost journalists of the time.

Vallery Gréard, Vice-Grand-Master of the University.

Le Comte d'Haussonville, whose name permits him to do nothing, and who has written two hundred articles for the "Revue des Deux Mondes," and has published ten volumes.

Jules Claretie, director of the Comédie Française, who has given to history the attraction of romance, to romance the seriousness of history, and to journalism the attraction of romance and the earnestness of history, with the art of a writer.

Henri Meilhac, a son of Reynard Meilhac, whose dramatic works have made the fortunes of twenty theatres.

Le Vicomte Melchior de Vogüé, a broad-minded essayist, of whom it has been said that he writes like Châteaubriand.

Charles De Freycinet, formerly Minister of War.

Pierre Loti, the novelist, or, to speak more truly, the painter, or, even better, the adorable poet of "Rarahu" and of "Pêcheurs d'Islande."

Ernest Lavisse, the finest German historian in France—or in Germany.

Le Vicomte Henri de Bornier, author of "La Fille de Roland."

Paul Thureau-Dangin, who wrote the "Histoire de la Monarchie de Juillet."

Paul Challemel-Lacour, late President of the Senate.

Ferdinand Brunetière, the incontestable master of contemporaneous criticism.

J. M. de Hérédia, the Benvenuto Cellini of sonnets.

Albert Sorel, whose book, "L'Europe et la Révolution Française," has renewed the history of diplomacy.

Paul Bourget, now become as celebrated in America as in France.

And finally the writer of this article,—

HENRY HOUSSAYE.

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THE STAGE FROM A CLERGYMAN'S STANDPOINT.

FORTY years ago the pulpit very strongly condemned the stage. In the year 1856 I find a public speaker concluding his address to a vast audience of five thousand young men, with these earnest words:—

"Young men, if you once gain a fondness for the playhouse, temptation meets you on the threshold, accosts you in the lobby, attracts you on the stage. Friends, brothers, hear the voice of the Wise Man, and apply this exhortation to the theatre, 'Enter not into the path of the wicked, go not into the way of evil men, avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it, and pass away.'"

Even Dr. Johnson felt that it was inconsistent with true piety to frequent the theatre. And in later days, if Canon Melville, Dr. Cumming, Hugh Stowell, or Morley Punshon, on the other side of the Atlantic; or Henry Anthon, Stephen Tyng, Bishop McIlvaine, or any other popular preacher, in this country,—had been seen within the walls of a theatre, their ministerial popularity would have been extinguished. The whole trend of the pulpit was against the stage, and it is only by very slow although very perceptible changes that the theatre has gradually been tolerated by religious teachers. Now, clergymen are frequently seen in New York theatres, and no apology for their presence is demanded. The gifted rector of St. Bartholomew's Church, New York, in a volume of sermons entitled "From Things to God," says:—

"Ought Christian people to go to the theatre? That they do go—many of them—I am well aware. And yet there is a feeling upon their part—more or less active and strong—that there is something in the going that is just a little inconsistent with the Christian character."

But a remarkable change has taken place in the attitude of Christian preachers toward the stage. Very much of this change of feeling, I think, must be attributed to the action taken by the late Bishop Fraser, of Manchester, England, who, twenty-five years ago, attempted to reform the stage. I had the privilege of hearing Bishop Fraser defend his position in a remarkable speech at the Sheffield Church Congress. He maintained that if religious people would only attend the theatre, the managers would very soon reform the stage in order to

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meet the demands of their supporters. But I have had the privilege of reading a confidential letter addressed by this good bishop, not long before his death, to a clergyman of the American Church, in which he confesses that he had been sadly disappointed in his efforts. He found that neither the managers of theatres nor the actors themselves desired any great reform in the direction of morality, while the public seemed to care very little about the subject.

The theatre is an enormous influence. The clergy in their churches preach once or twice a week. The theatre is an influence and an instruction, either for good or evil, every day of the week. To do away with the theatre is an impossibility. To relegate it, as the evangelical preachers would have done, to the slums of vulgarity and vice, is also impossible. It is therefore very clearly the duty of the preacher to have some very definite views on so popular an amusement. It is no use generalizing on the subject; there must be definite teaching.

The standard which the Christian minister must lay down for his guidance in this matter must be that formulated by the apostle:—

> "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

This would seem to be the "standpoint" from which a clergyman must view the theatre.

People frequent theatres for three special reasons,—amusement, entertainment, and instruction. I place amusement first; for, whatever may have been the history of the stage in the past (and we know it was designed for instruction rather than for amusement), no one can doubt that in the present day people frequent theatres very largely for amusement and nothing more,—simply for a three-hours laugh.

"Laughter," says Mr. Addison, "while it lasts, slackens and unbraces the mind." And this is what men and women seem most to need in "the weary working world" of New York city. But it is surprising to any thoughtful mind how crowds of educated people can be collected to witness the silliest trash that can possibly be presented to the public,—plays that are very badly conceived in the plot, and very poorly expressed in the acting: and yet they "draw." I have found an instance of this in a play performed at the Madison Square Theatre, entitled "The Gay Parisians." There is nothing objectionable in the play as plays go. But it seems strange that any sensible man could offer such a play to a first-class audience, and that a first-class audience

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in a first-class theatre could crowd together to witness such a jumble,—a jumble, also, that was silly in the extreme. Of course we laughed. Laughter is contagious, and the laugh did us good; for it has been said that, morally considered, laughter is next to the Ten Commandments.

Some of these "funny" plays are not only poor in their conception, but immoral in their expression. A remarkable instance of this is a play entitled "Too Much Johnson." Its plot is absolutely improbable, its chief incident being that of a New York banker or merchant deceiving a pure and virtuous wife by persistent lying. The curtain falls upon the hero amid shouts of laughter and applause, crowds of men and women having, during their three hours of amusement, imbibed the idea that stupendous lying, even in the most sacred relations of life, is not only smart but funny. This play had a long run, and I am not aware that one single minister of Christ raised a word against it, either with his pen or from the pulpit.

There are some comic plays which not only make one laugh, but are admirable in their conception. Among them I am disposed to class "Charley's Aunt." But the expressions of profanity which are put into the mouths of the college graduates seem entirely unnecessary, and make it difficult for a clergyman to sit through the performance. I would here remark that I have observed that the sense of propriety in an average audience at our theatres seems to be of a higher standard than that of the play-writer and manager. On one occasion I attended a very popular theatrical entertainment accompanied by a stenographer, and we made careful notes of the way in which jokes were received. We found that a really good innocent joke "brought down" the house, while expressions of vulgarity were very often allowed to pass in silence. In some cases they were hissed. I cannot understand why reputable managers do not give this subject more careful consideration. They would probably do so if the teaching of the pulpit were persistently aimed against them. For if the pulpit has not lost its power with regard to municipal reform and the Sunday saloon, it certainly can wield its influence against a low standard of morality in the theatre. The well-known comedian, Mr. De Wolf Hopper, seems to draw the line between that which is amusing and that which is vulgar. The acting in his plays is always strong, vigorous, and full of healthy fun which keeps an audience in roars of laughter, and, so far as I have been able to observe, the laws of decency are not violated. An ability to bring this about is a rare gift, and one which seems to be possessed by few stage managers of the present day.

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Among the provisions which the modern playhouse makes for the entertainment of the public as well as for its amusement is the comic opera, the spectacular play, and dramatic representations of real life. It is somewhat difficult to understand why certain very beautiful comic operas have failed to "draw" for any length of time. Take "Utopia," for example. No clergyman could object to sitting through such a performance with its pleasing musical strains by Sir Arthur Sullivan, its attractive scenery, and its real fun as enjoyable as innocent. Many such operas have been produced on the New York stage, but I am told by experienced managers that it is impossible to forecast the success or failure of a comic opera. Very large sums of money have been lost in this department of theatrical work. The "Robber of the Rhine" was singularly well staged, and was an admirable production in every respect. It was selected by Mr. Miner as one of the opening plays of his new Fifth Avenue Theatre. But it was a financial failure, being too good and too refined for the ordinary playgoer. The two most successful comic operas have been "Robin Hood" and "Rob Roy." In "Rob Roy" the old Scotch airs were attractive; the costumes of the women were modest; the acting was exceedingly good. But this is seldom the case.

In very many comic operas the costumes of the women are excessively immodest. An instance of the kind is found in "The Wizard of the Nile," at the Casino Theatre, in which Mr. Frank Daniels takes the leading part. In the first act the costumes of the chorus girls seem to have been specially designed to appeal to the sensuous feelings of the audience,—such in fact as those against which the earnest criticisms of the late Bishop Fraser were directed. Mr. Daniels is a consummate actor and can keep an audience in continuous roars of laughter, and it is Mr. Daniels, and not the semi-nude chorus girls, who "draw." Why, then, should womanhood be degraded? I often wonder that the educated women of New York do not see how dishonoring to their sex the exposure of the female figure becomes. If Christian women would only view the matter from the Christian standpoint they would decline to attend a theatre where the female costumes are known to be decidedly immodest. If the comic opera is to escape the condemnation of the Church, some effort must be made by the directors to keep the costumes within the limits of propriety. Greek sculpture is all very well as a means of education in a museum, —but you do not find Greek art in the comic opera! Quite the reverse! It is simply vulgar.

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For a very short time an artistic opera entitled "The Sphinx" was placed upon the stage of the Casino Theatre, with Mr. Wilson as the leading comedian. But it had a short run,—probably because it was entirely free from objectionable features. If such is the case it is an evidence of that deterioration of taste which is said to exist among the playgoers of the present day.

At Mr. Palmer's theatre I witnessed some very poor acting in an excessively vulgar comic opera of which Miss Della Fox was the prima donna. It was surprising to me that the manager did not insist upon some revision of the piece. To see Miss Fox (now certainly out of her teens) clad in a short baby frock was indecent, pitiable, and revolting. Criticism by the pulpit upon the lines set forth in the words, "Whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are of good report," would make it impossible for those who profess to be "Christian women" to sit through immodest plays. It is because the pulpit has no definite teaching on the subject that such stage productions are found to be popular, even among modest-minded people.

Another phase of theatrical representation designed for our entertainment is the realistic drama, such as "Beau Brummell," "The Prisoner of Zenda," and "The Senator." Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Sothern, and Mr. Crane seem to succeed admirably in producing that which is healthy and good, and yet I believe these gentlemen assert that they are not appreciated by a New York audience to an extent to which they certainly have a claim. Mr. Mansfield will often perform his best pieces before a thin house, while crowds of well-dressed ladies and gentlemen may be seen laughing over the poor wit and questionable morality of "Too Much Johnson." If I were asked to select what I considered an ideal play, it would be "The Senator" as produced by Mr. Crane. It combines the threefold purpose of the stage,—amusement, entertainment, and teaching.

Some of the so-called realistic plays are singularly untrue,—for example, one which I recently witnessed, entitled "David Garrick." In this play Mr. Garrick is represented as the very model of honor in the affairs of women, a condition as untrue to the history of the hero as anything could possibly be; and even Mr. Nat Goodwin's realistic personation of a tipsy Garrick did not rescue the play from the oblivion which it so well deserved.

The Lyceum Theatre is one of the few places in the city of New York where one is certain to find a play which will not in any way

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antagonize one's sense of propriety. I am told that the manager carefully examines every piece which is placed upon the stage, and expunges improprieties. In several instances the plays produced at the Lyceum have undergone considerable pruning under the skilful management of Mr. Daniel Frohman. A lady who has a large family of sons and daughters recently said to me: "I always feel that I can take my family to the Lyceum Theatre without any fear of being disgusted." "The Prisoner of Zenda," as performed by Mr. Sothern, was a typical play among those selected for this theatre. "The Home Secretary" is an English play representing social life in London. Many of the references to political and parliamentary life in England are such as an American audience must of necessity fail to appreciate. Consequently a play which has been received amidst roars of applause in London is but tamely received in the city of New York. Besides this, the movement of the piece is slow even to tediousness, and the actors can scarcely be said to be "first rate." It is, however, one of the few modern plays in which we find some really thoughtful utterances of expression of opinion and sentiment, such as characterized the old plays. I am told by a gentleman that there is a wide field in literature almost untouched in the writing of plays which shall hold up to ridicule the foibles as well as the vices of modern times. To the question, "How is it that we do not find in the modern play a half a dozen consecutive sentences which will find a place in English literature?" my friend replied, "Simply because we have not the men to write them." I should add that this gentleman has been a stage critic for more than a quarter of a century, and was at one time proprietor of a New York theatre.

The play which seems to be needed is one in which there shall be real literary power, with a good sprinkling of ready wit, and with rapid and vigorous movement in its acting. Such plays would become an instructive power; but they should be masterpieces, and the public is simply waiting for some gifted author to write them.

The teaching power of the drama is, of course, its most ancient use. The stage had its origin in religious plays. One of the few good things recorded of Bonner, Bishop of London, is that in the reign of Henry VIII he forbade his clergy "to have plays, games, or interludes, played, set forth, or declared within their churches or chapels." In the face of this fact we will not say that the world has not grown better. Whatever may be said of the stage now, it is not so bad as it was three or four centuries ago, when the character of Beelzebub was

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introduced upon the stage with a merry group of imps to excite the laughter of the audience. The "Miracle" or "Mystery" plays, and the "Moralities" which were substituted for the "Mysteries," were the foundation of the modern comedy. They undoubtedly inspired the genius of William Shakespeare, and did much to form the character of his comedies and tragedies. In an old book I find an account of the representation of "The Queen of Sheba," which was performed in the presence of Queen Elizabeth, in which *Hope*, *Faith*, and *Charity* appeared in rich dresses. But the chronicler tells us that "*Hope* tried to speak, but wine so enfeebled her endeavors that she withdrew." Both *Faith* and *Charity* retired from the stage in the same enfeebled condition!

It was, however, the intention of the stage for centuries that it should take its place as a public teacher, and the advocates of the theatre a quarter of a century ago pleaded for it in this relation. The clergy were told that the stage was as powerful an engine in the destruction of vice as the pulpit. To this the clergy replied that the young of the day would not learn honesty from "Jack Sheppard," nor purity from "La Traviata." Rousseau, in defending the stage, abandons the idea of its ethical teaching. He says, in his "System of Education": "You have nothing to do with morality here; this is not the place in which to learn it; the stage was not erected for the propagation of truth, but to flatter and amuse." Comparatively few people go to the theatre to be taught. It was, however, the opinion of the late Mr. De Mille that there is still room for the drama as a means of instruction. How well he aimed at this must have been evident to those who witnessed his "Men and Women." In this remarkable play, not only does the picture of the "Man of Nazareth" appear upon the wall of the counting-house, but the embezzler recites the *De profundis* upon his knees. It is the nearest approach to the religious drama of anything I have witnessed, except perhaps the "Muharram" or Persian miracle play, performed in all parts of Islam.

But the stage is fast losing its teaching power. Very few of the modern plays have any reflective or serious thought upon any great moral question. Even when there is an intention to encourage morality and condemn vice, vice is usually presented in so attractive a form that it fails to convey any sense of condemnation, even when the villain of the play is shot. One of the most unwholesome productions of the kind is a play called "Aristocracy." I will not pollute the columns of this magazine by a description of this drama, which was presented in

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Palmer's Theatre before crowded audiences of the New York "aristocracy." From a clergyman's standpoint the whole performance was pitiable and contemptible. And yet it "drew." Communicants of our churches were among the audience. Christian women were there. And yet the pulpit was silent. Not long ago the clergy were invited by the manager of the Standard Theatre to witness a play entitled "The Capitol." It was an admirable production, well set on the stage, well acted. It exposed the rascality of political life in Washington. It presented the highest type of priestly life in a clergyman of the Roman Catholic Church. It commended everything that was honest and of good report. But it failed. A licentious production, such as "Aristocracy," could draw thousands, while a reputable play like "The Capitol" was performed before empty benches. Surely the pulpit should have something to say to this. The rector of St. Bartholomew's Church, whom I have before quoted, says:—

> "As a nation gets older, as it becomes more highly developed, as the people grow in moral and intellectual stature, their popular amusements will correspondingly grow and become of a better character."

At present there does not seem to be any sign of this. A careful study of the New York stage, from personal observation, proves the very contrary. The tragedies of the leading theatres in the Bowery, in which every villain is shot or hanged, is infinitely higher in its moral teaching than the lascivious productions of many of the up-town theatres.

When carefully and critically considered, it must be admitted that the demands of the public, so far as the stage is concerned, are for something light, trivial, and amusing rather than for that which is weighty and instructive. And it will be seen from an article which appeared in THE FORUM for October, 1895, written by a well-known actor, that there is a marked deterioration in the New York stage. The stage has lost, or is fast losing, its teaching power. There was a time when people went to the theatre to obtain some knowledge of good English, but with a few exceptions the spoken English of the stage is as faulty as the written English of the press. Only a few years ago the playgoer loved to witness his favorite actor in his presentation of the different phases of human life. But now such consummate actors as Mr. Mansfield and Mr. Crane often fail to draw crowded houses. The only thing which really does draw is something "funny." It has been said that, next to virtue, the fun in this world is what we can least spare. And if the public will only take its teaching of virtue

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from the pulpit there can be no objection to its taking its fun from the stage. All that can be demanded is that it shall be pure, innocent, and good fun.

Last year the editor of a well-known magazine witnessed the performance of a play entitled "The Foundling," and he says:—

"A broader performance I never before witnessed. It was absolutely immoral. No man could take a decent woman to see it, and the evening I saw it many couples left the theatre."

And yet this horrid play is again before the public, and without one word of protest from either the press or the pulpit. Even the most reputable evening paper in New York city, said to be conducted "by gentlemen for gentlemen," dismisses it in the following lenient manner:—

"That popular and preposterous piece of nonsense, 'The Foundling,' may be seen this week at the Garrick Theatre, where it has replaced 'The Witch.' A wider contrast than exists between the two pieces could not easily be imagined. Miss Cissy Fitzgerald has lost none of her spirits or her agility, and her performance was received with many demonstrations of approval."

There is really no censorship of the stage. The press is indifferent to the immoral conditions of the theatre. The pulpit is silent. The people love to have it so.

But the pulpit has a right to demand that, if it tolerates the theatre as a field for light-hearted amusement, the stage shall not present vice as attractive, and virtue as something to be laughed at. It was the boast of Fontenelle that he had lived one hundred years, and died with the consolation of never having thrown the slightest ridicule upon the smallest virtue. Theatrical managers should emulate Fontenelle, and they must remember that the pulpit has not yet lost its power. In New York at least there has been evidence to the contrary. But of late years that power has not been directed against the stage, for there has been a general impression that the stage is improving. It is not to be supposed that the teaching of the clergy will completely reform the drama or the stage, but it can do much toward this end. The late Earl of Lytton has said:—

"The social civilization of a people is always and infallibly indicated by the intellectual character of its popular amusements; and of such amusements the stage is by far the most important."

Let any individual go the round of the New York theatres, and critically examine the productions of the stage, and he will certainly come

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to the conclusion that they do not indicate a high standard of intellect. Amusement—and amusement only—seems to be in demand. Both actors and managers of theatres are perplexed at the situation. It is found difficult to gauge the taste of the public. But surely the pulpit can do something by sternly condemning that which is immoral and vicious and commending that which is noble and pure. If this were done more thoroughly than it is, it is probable that a very mighty reformation would be effected in the character of the stage.

But I would not imply that, even "from a clergyman's standpoint," there is not a vast repertoire of admirable plays against which no objection can be made. The most critical mind could not possibly find fault with "Christopher Jr." as performed by Mr. John Drew; or with "Nancy and Co.," in which Miss Ada Rehan took the leading part; or that exceedingly amusing piece, "Jane." The very fact that such popular pieces can be produced, and are sufficiently attractive to draw large houses, is of itself a very potent reason why the clergy should, in the consideration of theatre-going, draw a very distinct line between that which is decent or indecent, moral or immoral.

Even as I write, a play is being acted in one of the leading theatres of New York which has brought upon it the censure of even the secular press. And I believe that if the clergy will give this question of playgoing not only a serious but a practical consideration, great good may be effected. I have been told that if any leading preacher of New York city were to denounce any particular play it would be the means of making such a play exceedingly popular. I do not think so. I believe that if a pastor of a fashionable church were to denounce any particular play as positively immoral, it would very soon disappear from the stage. A very large percentage of the ordinary playgoers are communicants of the churches, and a well-considered condemnation of a play would certainly injure its popularity. "Christian people" would not think it "respectable" to sit through a play which had been condemned by their spiritual pastors. All that is needed is a little more ministerial courage with regard to the stage, and it will very soon be seen that the pulpit really possesses more power in this direction than it ever had in the history of the modern drama. One thing is certain. If the stage is left to its own devices it will become a fruitful source of injury to the moral well-being of the nation.

THOMAS P. HUGHES.

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THE PRESIDENT'S MONROE DOCTRINE.

AMONG the fundamental rights of every state is that of Independence. Now, independence means the right to be let alone. In the exercise of its independence each state deals with every other as it sees fit: it fosters trade or restricts it; it quarrels or it makes friends. This is the rule; interference in the affairs of another state is the exception and needs to be justified. The necessity of self-defence is the most common excuse for such interference. The balance-of-power principle was based upon this, with the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire and the Triple Alliance as its latest manifestations. Intervention to preserve the peace of Europe—such as that which carved a neutral Belgium out of the kingdom of the Netherlands—was based upon this. And it was this which called the Monroe Doctrine into being. Let us fix firmly in our minds at the outset, then, the undoubted fact that the declaration of President Monroe was an interference in the affairs of other states, to be justified only by the necessity of self-defence.

A new instance of interference in the affairs of other states has occurred. President Cleveland, in his Message to Congress of December 17, 1895, declares that he conceives it to be his duty to ascertain and lay down a boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela, using every means in his power to enforce it. This, of course, is a threat of war. For this interference the President states that the Monroe Doctrine is his warrant. He believes that doctrine applicable to the case in question, and a failure to enforce it dangerous to the safety of the United States.

Before taking up this question of applicability, however, there are several statements in the Message which invite comment and criticism, bearing strongly, as they do, upon the President's general position and argument. He says :—

"It may not be amiss to suggest that the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound, because its enforcement is important to our peace and safety as a nation, and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government."

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Here he clearly puts the question of enforcing the Monroe Doctrine in the Venezuelan boundary dispute upon the proper ground,—the self-interest of the United States. We are to enforce it—supposing it to be applicable—because it is to our advantage to do so; because to neglect it would endanger our peace and safety, our free institutions and form of government. He bases his fresh use of the old doctrine on the original ground, that of self-defence. That this danger, which justifies our interference, really exists, I find it very hard to believe. It may well be asked whether our peace is most threatened by an unsettled boundary in South America, or by the Message itself. This question of our self-interest will be referred to later. What I wish to emphasize here is that the President admits that his action is based upon utility, not upon duty. And yet this warrant alone does not seem to satisfy him. He wants legal justification. Accordingly he argues that, though not perhaps "admitted in so many words to the code of international law," the doctrine is yet a part of it,—

—"since in international councils every nation is entitled to rights belonging to it; and when the United States is a suitor before the high tribunal that administers international law, the question to determine is whether or not we present claims which the justice of that code of law can find to be right and valid."

This is principally rhetoric. There is of course no "high tribunal," no "code of international law," except in a metaphorical sense. If the passage means anything—which is uncertain—it means that the Monroe Doctrine is a part of the body of international law because it is in harmony with its ideas of justice. This is an error. The rules of international law are founded upon the principles of natural justice, but everything consonant with its ideas of justice is not a rule of international law. The punishment of the slave-trade as piracy—a just rule and one laid down in many treaties—is a case in point. It is not a rule of international law, because it has never been made such by the common consent or agreement of nations. Even were the premise sound, the conclusion would therefore be false. In this contention the President has been led away by Lord Salisbury, and tries (and fails) to prove what is not necessary to his position,—that the Monroe Doctrine is a part of the body of that law which governs the relations of states. It is a *policy*, not a *law*, either national or international, and its application to each specific case—granting that action is justifiable at all—must be argued on grounds of policy alone.

"The Monroe Doctrine finds its recognition in the principles of international

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law, which are based upon the theory that every nation shall have its rights protected and its just claims enforced."

Is it necessary to remark that there is no such theory? Every state has the right of self-defence. That is the first law of nations. But to say that every state has a right to be protected and to have its just claims enforced by some other state is simply ridiculous. No, it is more, it is monstrous. It is a plea for universal tranquillity at the expense of universal interference and disturbance. It is a plea in behalf of the *status quo* of the world, while inconsistently it threatens to disturb that status by enforcing the just claims of some states against others. The justice of the claim, it is natural to infer, will be decided by an *ex parte* Commission.

There are other statements which are equally faulty,—as where it is said that the Doctrine was intended to apply to every stage of our national life, which is something that neither the President nor we can know: but I pass to the final sentence.

While deprecating the idea of war—a war which no one dreamed of until the Message threatened it—the President exclaims:—

"There is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor, beneath which are shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness."

Here is a complete mixing up of two persons: the one submitting to injustice,—namely Venezuela; and the one losing its self-respect,—that is, ourselves. Or does the President mean that we have a divine mission to follow Great Britain or any other state around and check its aggressions? Does he mean that we are knights errant, in search of wrongs to right, of injustice to repel, under penalty of losing our safety and greatness? Whichever version we adopt,—whether we merge our individuality in that of Venezuela, or tilt at windmills like Don Quixote,—it may be questioned if our safety and greatness are thus best preserved.

This is more than mere dialectics. The President has threatened Great Britain with war in a certain contingency; he has thrown business already into great confusion, and jeopardized the nation's finances, on the ground that our Monroe Doctrine is a binding law, is necessary to the safety of our institutions and form of government, and is applicable to the Venezuelan boundary dispute. If these contentions cannot be maintained, his action must be condemned as an offence to a friendly power, and a very serious blunder.

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His argument for the applicability of the Monroe Doctrine is entitled to fair consideration and is a principal point at issue. It is as follows:—

Speaking of the Allied Powers, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France (England having withdrawn), President Monroe said that—

—"we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. . . . We could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them [that is, the South American republics whose independence we had recognized] or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

The President, with these words in mind, says:—

"If a European power, by an extension of its boundaries, takes possession of the territory of one of our neighboring republics, against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why to that extent such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of this continent which is thus taken. This is the precise action which President Monroe declared to be 'dangerous to our peace and safety,' and it can make no difference whether the European system is extended by an advance of frontier or otherwise."

The argument is perfectly clear and needs no elaboration. An unsettled boundary dispute between a British colony and Venezuela, a disposition to "edge up" on the latter in the matter of territory, is an attempt to extend the European system to a sister republic and to control its destiny. On the face of it this is a possible inference, but only by emphasizing the letter—not the spirit and real intent—of Monroe's Message, and by almost a perversion of words. Apply the same language to our Maine boundary. The valley of the St. John was disputed ground. By the Ashburton compromise it was divided between the disputants. Is it a proper use of language to say that the success of Great Britain in acquiring the country north of the St. John River to the St. Lawrence watershed, which we had justly claimed, "extends a European system to the United States or controls its destiny"? Venezuela's is a perfectly parallel case. Were she to lose the whole region in dispute by arbitration or by aggression, in neither case would a new system be extended over her, or her destiny be controlled.

But let us look at the real spirit and intent of the Monroe Doctrine. One hesitates to repeat its origin, so often has it been related. The

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Allied Powers had twice tried their hand at intervention,—in Spain and in Naples. This intervention was in favor of absolutism, not of established government; for in Naples a liberal movement was put down, in Spain a royalist insurrection was helped up. Emboldened by success they then proposed to apply their new principles to this continent, and to restore to Spain those colonies of hers which were trying to gain or had gained their independence. Then Monroe declared that such intervention would be regarded by the United States as dangerous to itself. He announced a policy. That policy forbade the substitution of monarchical for republican forms of government on this continent by European force. It did not forbid the existence of monarchies here, as Dom Pedro could testify. It did not forbid any step which the republics themselves chose to take, but simply what was forced upon them. It was the policy which fitted the hour and the occasion. It was opportunism. This is shown by the sequel. When Clay, in January, 1824, proposed, in moderate language, a legislative resolution embodying the President's doctrine, no action was taken upon it. As the latest authority, Professor Snow,[1] well says :—

"The attempt to give a permanent character to the Monroe Doctrine failed. It would appear that Congress, considering the danger past, did not approve of adopting a general policy of this kind in the absence of specific cause."

In 1826 came the Panama Congress. A league of states was proposed, which, among other things, was—

—"to take into consideration the means of making effectual the declaration of the President of the United States respecting any ulterior design of a foreign power to colonize any portion of this continent, and also the means of resisting all interference from abroad with the domestic concerns of the American governments."

After much debate and delay, delegates were appointed from the United States. They never left this country, and the Congress amounted to nothing. Mr. Dana, in his edition of Wheaton's "Elements of International Law," comments upon it as follows :—

"It seemed to aim at introducing, in behalf of republicanism, the same principle of interference which had been attempted abroad in behalf of despotism."

In 1848, Yucatan, in the throes of internal conflict, offered its dominion to the United States, to Spain, and to Great Britain. President Polk urged Congress to prevent its transfer to any European

[1] "American Diplomacy," p. 294.

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power as a colony, and to re-affirm the Monroe Doctrine. Calhoun was a member of Monroe's Cabinet in 1823. He was in a position to know what the Monroe declarations meant and to what they were applicable. Speaking in opposition to Polk's suggestion, he said:—

"They were but declarations—nothing more; . . . we are not to have quoted on us, on every occasion, general declarations to which any and every meaning may be attached."

And again he argued that the Doctrine must be limited by the conditions under which it was spoken, else—

—"it would have involved the absurdity of asserting that the attempt of any European state to extend its system of government to this continent, the smallest as well as the greatest, would endanger the peace and safety of our country."

The declaration, then, according to Calhoun, was a policy only, to be followed or not, as interest dictated, and was based upon the right of self-defence and nothing else.

We approach now the Mexican adventure of Maximilian. By the power of French bayonets Napoleon III overturned the republic, and had that Austrian prince chosen emperor by a travesty of an election: in short, he committed exactly those aggressions from which the Monroe Doctrine warned foreigners away. It was a genuine case of self-defence on the part of the United States, for the French action was really taken to check the growth of our commerce and influence in that quarter. A demonstration of force was proper, since the offensive act had been already consummated. The hands of our government having been tied during the civil war, after the close of that struggle a force was moved to the Mexican border. The French support was withdrawn, and Maximilian fell. Thus was the Monroe Doctrine re-applied on its original lines. This episode proves two things: first, that the principles announced by President Monroe were not obsolete in 1867, and are presumably still our guidance; second, that the Doctrine, forty years after its birth, had met with no enlargement.

Mr. Seward, in a despatch to Mr. Kilpatrick in 1866, gives his idea of the Monroe Doctrine thus. I quote from the United States "Digest of International Law," by Wharton,—the official collection of the Government:—

"The Government of the United States will maintain and insist, with all the decision and energy which are compatible with an existing neutrality, that the republican system which is accepted by any one of those [South American] states shall not be wantonly assailed, and that it shall not be subverted as an end of a lawful war by European powers: but beyond this position it will not go, nor will

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it consider itself bound to take part in wars in which a South American republic may enter with a European sovereign, when the object of the latter is not the establishment, in place of a subverted republic, of a monarchy under a European prince."

This history and these comments sufficiently show that it was the substitution of a monarchical for a republican form of government, by European forces, at which the Monroe Doctrine was aimed. President Woolsey[1] concludes his treatment of the subject with this most applicable sentence:—

"To lay down the principle that the acquisition of territory on this continent by any European power cannot be allowed by the United States would go far beyond any measures dictated by the system of the balance of power; for the rule of self-preservation is not applicable in our case: we fear no neighbors. . . . But to resist attempts of European powers to alter the constitutions of states on this side of the water is a wise and just opposition to interference. Anything beyond this justifies the system which absolute governments have initiated for the suppression of revolutions by main force."

Such *was* the Monroe Doctrine. Anything other than this is the doctrine of somebody else.

There is another striking difference between the old version and the new. President Monroe's Message nowhere threatens force. This fact has been often commented upon. His strongest expression is that we should look upon certain actions as evidence of an unfriendly disposition. But President Cleveland is not so tame. After suggesting a Commission to report upon the Venezuelan boundary, he says:—

"When such report is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right belong to Venezuela."

But for this threat the Message would have been regarded as a political manifesto: with this threat it is a menace to the peace of two great states.

There is one more consideration,—one already suggested,—the vital point of the whole matter. We may grant, though contrary to fact, that the Monroe Doctrine is applicable to the Venezuelan boundary dispute. Proof must still be furnished that a failure to enforce it would endanger our peace and safety. If they are not so endangered, we have no ground for interference. The Monroe Doctrine declares

[1] "Introduction to the Study of International Law," 6th ed., p. 56.

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this. President Cleveland implies it. The commentators who have been quoted say it. Does British control over the wild frontier region in dispute between Venezuela and Guiana really threaten the safety of the United States? If so, why and how? We are entitled to specifications. For, unless the danger can be shown, an interference is unwarranted. Does Canada put our institutions in jeopardy? Does British Columbia imperil our form of government? If not, why does this danger lurk in distant Guiana? England has as constitutional a form of government as our own. She is a good colonizer. She carries order, justice, capital into the wilds with her. Are such developments inimical to our safety? Is there anything which can truly imperil our institutions? Is there anything on earth which we should truly fear, except the consequences of our own ignorance, our own dishonesty, our own conceit?

At the risk of tediousness, may I gather again the threads of my discourse? The Monroe Doctrine is not a law; it binds us to no action; it was a policy devised to meet a particular case. That case was the forcible substitution of monarchical for republican forms of government in American states by European action. It was an act of self-defence, on no other ground justifiable. It was not backed by threats of force.

Mr. Cleveland's doctrine is an entirely distinct one. Under threats, it attempts to settle for them the disputed boundary line of two friendly states. It virtually asserts the right to pass judgment upon any controversy over territory which an American state may have with a European one, and to enforce the decision. It is interference in the affairs of another state which the necessity of self-defence does not justify. It is a long and dangerous step toward that assumption of the headship of this continent which Mr. Olney so tersely describes when he says that the United States is "practically sovereign" throughout America, and that "its fiat is law." A glorious and happy future this, where the responsibilities are ours, the profit another's; where dreams of empire under the guise of a protectorate replace peaceful development; where our own will is our only law!

THEODORE S. WOOLSEY.

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LORD SALISBURY AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

THE Declaration of Independence, Washington's Farewell Address, and the Message of President Monroe containing the Doctrine called after his name, were three instruments in the history of these United States, neither of them charters, nor constitutions, nor even laws, yet they have had a controlling influence upon the policy and destiny of the nation far beyond all public acts combined, with the single exception of the Federal Constitution. The patriotism and statesmanship of the fathers of the Republic formulated these several documents for the safety and preservation of our institutions for all time to come.

Two cardinal principles have always governed the relations of the United States with the governments of the world,—the neutrality policy laid down by Washington, and the Monroe Doctrine to guard the welfare and integrity of institutions on this continent. When President Monroe submitted the papers which called forth the Message to the author of the Declaration of Independence for his advice, Jefferson answered:—

> "The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us."

The question so momentous, which Jefferson referred to, and which was also submitted by Monroe for the opinion of Madison, briefly summarized, grew out of the following circumstances:

In 1815 a treaty was entered into between the Emperors of Russia and of Austria and the King of Prussia, not through the intermediation of ministers, but by themselves acting as absolute sovereigns. The objects of the league thus formed—called the "Holy Alliance," bearing such a benevolent and sacred aspect—were primarily to rehabilitate autocracy with *jure divino*, and secondarily to overthrow free government and dominate the world. Congresses were held at Aix-la-Chapelle, Troppau, and Laybach, for the purpose of concentrating and extending the powers of the allies and putting their objects

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into practical operation. Liberal movements were forcibly suppressed in Piedmont and Naples in 1820, and the system of armed intervention was adopted in the affairs of other states in order to suppress free institutions and to strengthen monarchical government, without regard to the immediate interests of the states composing the Alliance. In October, 1822, the allied sovereigns assembled at Verona and formulated measures for the suppression of the revolution in Spain. In April, 1823, France undertook to apply the principles of the allies by invading Spain for the purpose of overthrowing the constitution of the Cortes and restoring absolute monarchy under Ferdinand VII. The British government protested against this interference, disclaiming for itself, and denying to other Powers, the right of requiring any change in the internal institutions of an independent state.

The allied Powers, having gone forward in their plan, purposed to transfer their intervention to our hemisphere, growing out of the relations of France and Spain and their attitude toward the South American colonies then at the approaching end of their successful struggle for independence. Mr. Canning, the British Prime Minister, in August, 1823, had a conference with our Minister, Mr. Rush, with the view of sounding our government as to what action it would take against such threatened intervention by France, laying stress on the commercial interests of Great Britain and the large portion of maritime power which his government and ours shared between them. This conference was followed by a note addressed by Canning to Rush, wherein he writes:—

"Is not the moment come when our governments might understand each other as to the Spanish-American colonies? And if we can arrive at such an understanding, would it not be expedient for ourselves, and beneficial to all the world, that the principles of it should be clearly settled and plainly avowed?"

And then he sets forth Great Britain's attitude in detail: that he regards the recovery of the colonies by Spain to be hopeless; that she does not aim at the possession of any portion herself, and could not view their transfer to any other Power with indifference. He continues:—

"If there be any European Power which cherishes other projects, which looks to a forcible enterprise for reducing the colonies to subjugation, on the behalf or in the name of Spain, or which meditates the acquisition of any part of them to itself, by cession or by conquest, such a declaration on the part of your government and ours would be at once the most effectual and the least offensive mode of our intimating our joint disapprobation of such projects. . . . Nothing could be more gratifying to me than to join with you in such a work, and I am

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persuaded there has seldom, in the history of the world, occurred an opportunity where so small an effort of two friendly governments might produce so unequivocal a good and prevent such extensive calamities."

Our government, which had before this time formally acknowledged the independence of the Spanish-American states, received this overture of the British Prime Minister with all the deliberation the importance of this step demanded. President Monroe did not adopt the proposal for a joint declaration. He maintained that the public policy of the United States, which held it aloof from intervention in the affairs of European Powers, necessarily implied European non-intervention in the affairs of this hemisphere, and he embodied this principle in his Message of December 2, 1823. After stating that it was our policy not to interfere with the internal concerns of European Powers, and referring to the contemplated interference by the "Holy Alliance," he said, in language which has gone into history as the "Monroe Doctrine" of our continental policy:—

"With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those [European] Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. . . . With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. . . . It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference."

This policy, far from being arbitrary, embodies the golden rule of international relations, as it concedes to the nations of the other continents the rights we demand on the American continent. Instead of producing war, it was a harbinger of peace; it not only hastened the independence of the struggling colonies on this hemisphere, but it also relieved Europe from the terrors of absolutism of the "Holy Allies." In England the Message was hailed with joy and enthusiasm; her statesmen extolled it in unmeasured terms. Mr. Brougham referred to it as an event "than which none has ever dispersed greater joy, exultation, and gratitude over all the freedmen of Europe." Mr. Canning, in his justifiable pride for his share in the circumstances

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which called forth the Message, stated: "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

The Doctrine so formulated by Monroe, expounded by Adams, and counselled by Jefferson and Madison, said Secretary Frelinghuysen in his instructions to Mr. Lowell (May 8, 1882),—

—"has since remained a cardinal principle of our continental policy. . . . It is not to be anticipated that Great Britain will controvert an international doctrine which she suggested to the United States when looking to her own interests, and which, when adopted by this Republic, she highly approved."

For more than seventy years the executive branch of the government has on repeated occasions given to this Doctrine its approval and has uniformly acted upon it; our diplomacy has been guided by it, and our secretaries of state have time and again made it the subject of diplomatic representation. The details of these representations in more recent years are to be found in the instructions and communications of Secretaries Fish, Frelinghuysen, Evarts, Blaine, and Bayard, and in Mr. Olney's *résumé* of the negotiations and instructions, communicated to Lord Salisbury, attached to the President's Message. Besides being the controlling factor in the emancipation of the South American states, and in protecting them from European ambition or intervention, the Monroe Doctrine operated to prevent the establishment of a European dynasty in Mexico at the close of our civil war. It has on more than one occasion been applied to the case of Cuba, and especially by President Grant in 1870, in his Message of that year, wherein he said that existing dependencies were no longer regarded as subject to transfer by one European Power to another; and that when existing relations of colonies cease, they are to become independent Powers. It was applied to dangers threatening Yucatan, and its principles were embodied in the treaty of the United States with Great Britain respecting the settlement of affairs in Central America. Secretary Fish (in his report accompanying the President's Message) wrote:—

"The United States stand solemnly committed by repeated declarations and repeated acts to this Doctrine, and its application to the affairs of this continent. . . . It does not contemplate forcible intervention in any legitimate contest; but it protests against permitting such a contest to result in the increase of European power or influence. . . . This policy is not a policy of aggression; but it opposes the creation of European dominion on American soil, or its transfer to other European Powers, and it looks hopefully to the time when, by voluntary departure of European governments from this continent and the adjacent islands, America shall be wholly American."

We will now take up the question of the Venezuelan boundary dis-

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pute between that Republic and Great Britain, the repeated tender of our good offices to Great Britain in the interest of peace and harmony, and the urgent representations of our solicitude, while distinctly withholding any expression of opinion as to the real merits of the controversy, so as not to prejudge or prejudice the rights of either party.

The dispute runs back at least to 1814, when Great Britain, by treaty with the Netherlands, acquired the provinces known as Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. From that time to the present day the boundary between this territory—now known as British Guiana—and Venezuela has continued to be a source of contention. The limit contended for by Venezuela has consistently been the Essequibo, excepting when she offered concessions in order to arrive at an amicable settlement by treaty and arbitration. Great Britain's claim has varied considerably, growing in extent from stage to stage in the negotiations. In 1840 an English engineer, Sir Robert Schomburgk, who five years previous to this date had explored the Orinoco for the Royal Geographical Society, was commissioned by the British government to provisionally survey and delimit the boundaries of British Guiana; it being the intention of the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston,—as appears by a letter of instructions written in 1840 by the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Viscount Leveson (afterwards Earl of Granville),—to submit the maps of the boundaries thus delimited to Venezuela and the other governments interested for their consideration and objections. The boundary thus traced and marked is known as the "Schomburgk line." Whether the maps were or were not submitted, it is quite clear that Venezuela promptly remonstrated, so that the monuments of the line set up by Schomburgk were removed by order of Lord Aberdeen.

For the next quarter of a century following 1848, Venezuela was convulsed by revolutions, so that the boundary question received little or no consideration. Since that time, as appears from the negotiations, the boundary of British Guiana has been deporting itself, as if galvanized by Horace Greeley's advice to "go West." While negotiations were pending, new appropriations were being made by Great Britain which amounted to 33,000 square miles in the years from 1885 to 1887; so that Venezuela, finding this condition unbearable, in the latter year suspended diplomatic relations, protesting "against the acts of spoliation committed to her detriment by the government of Great Britain." Diplomatic relations have not since been restored, though new negotiations begun in 1890 and in 1893 met with the same fate as

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before; Great Britain refusing to negotiate or arbitrate, except as to territory west of an arbitrary line drawn by herself. In all these negotiations, as detailed with explicitness by Secretary Olney, "the United States has not been, and indeed, in view of its traditional policy, could not be, indifferent." In December, 1886, Secretary Bayard, in order to avert the impending rupture between Venezuela and Great Britain, offered to the latter, through Minister Phelps, the cooperation of our government to arbitrate the differences, and said:—

> "Her Majesty's government will readily understand that this attitude of friendly neutrality . . . is entirely consistent and compatible with the sense of responsibility that rests upon the United States in relation to South American republics. The doctrines we announced two generations ago, at the instance and with the cordial support and approval of the British government, have lost none of their force or importance in the progress of time, and the governments of Great Britain and the United States are equally interested in conserving a status the wisdom of which has been demonstrated by the experience of more than half a century."

The United States, in respect to the Venezuelan boundary dispute, is not concerned whether British Guiana be larger by an area estimated at 109,000 square miles, nor whether the territorial dominions of the Republic of Venezuela be less to that extent. In the language of Monroe's Message, "with the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere."

It is claimed by Venezuela that Great Britain's usurpation entails most serious consequences, the "exclusive dominion over the Orinoco, the great artery on the north of the continent, the Mississippi River of South America," and that this control perpetuates measures of usurpation that will be the cause of permanent danger to the industry and commerce of Venezuela and neighboring states, which may, as to certain "American countries, render illusory their political existence as free and independent states." Even the possibility of such consequences would not justify our government in intervening for the purpose of depriving either country of a foot of territory it is by right—as distinguished from might—entitled to hold. But, under the most favorable construction that can be put upon this controversy, it is apparent that the true boundary line between Great Britain and Venezuela is involved in an uncertainty, which fact is made the more apparent by the ever widening of the British boundary during the past fifty years from the Essequibo line until it includes the mouth of the Orinoco. Aside from the real facts of the controversy Lord Salisbury's refusal to avail himself of our friendly offices, and to submit the question to impartial

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arbitration, leads to the conclusion that he has not sufficient faith in the justice of his claim. This he does not assert or admit: he resorts to a line of argument which is not only undiplomatic, but untenable, and converts the controversy from one affecting the boundary of a comparatively insignificant British colony to an attack upon our Continental policy. It is this inadmissible contention on the part of the British Prime Minister, and not the President's Message, which has the dangerous tendency to change the issue from one of fact and diplomacy to one affecting the cardinal principle of our national policy for the security of our institutions and our relations to the nations on this continent. Mr. Schurz, in his admirable address before the New York Chamber of Commerce, referring to this regrettable phase of the controversy, said:—

> "Now questions of fact, of law, of interest, of substantial right and justice, it may sometimes be very difficult to decide; but there are rules of evidence, rules of legal construction, and rules of equity, to help us to a solution. But a question of honor usually withdraws from all those aids, because it is a matter of sentiment."

While the closing passages of the President's Message show some evidences of irritation because of this offensive attitude on the part of Lord Salisbury (assumed doubtless to justify his refusal to submit the boundary dispute to arbitration), the President has wisely provided for keeping the controversy within the realm of fact and evidence by suggesting the appointment of a Commission to make an inquiry to that end, to "be conducted carefully and judicially; and due weight should be given to all available evidence, records, and facts in support of the claims of both parties."

I do not believe that the possession by Great Britain of the disputed territory has the possibility, even remotely, of any such consequences as is claimed by Venezuela, but I do believe that Lord Salisbury's refusal to arbitrate charges Great Britain with weighty responsibilities that are not measured by their effect upon her possessions on this continent. It entails upon her the responsibility for the abrogation of the humane principles of arbitration as the best and most civilized method for the settlement of international disputes, which have been so courteously and urgently pressed upon her in this matter by our government, by every Secretary of State since 1876, and by our Presidents in their messages to Congress. Reference to this request for arbitration, with a brief statement of our traditional policy, was again made by President Cleveland in his last annual Message at the opening of the present Congress. Great Britain and the United

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States have been foremost among the nations of the world in advocating this method of settling international controversies, and their example has been the most encouraging and potent factor for promoting good will and "peace with honor" among the nations of the earth. During the present century about eighty international controversies have been adjusted by this method, and a large proportion of them have affected boundaries. Our country has settled more than forty of these difficulties in this wise, and of these some of the most important have been with Great Britain touching boundaries. The Monroe Doctrine has ever been a preserver of peace, and every assertion of it has had the effect of averting the calamities of war. Our Presidents from Monroe to Cleveland, in order to maintain our traditional policy, to prevent, on the part of European governments, any misconception of its meaning and application, and to avoid a condition which threatened to arouse popular excitement to a point that might drive the nation into war, have reiterated our policy in accordance not only with the right, but with the duty, devolving upon the chief Executive. Following in this regard the precedent set by Monroe,—who prefaced his enunciation of the Doctrine with the words, "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers,"—Mr. Cleveland has responded to this grave duty in order to avert a hostile collision between the two great English-speaking peoples, who should ever remain "strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace."

OSCAR S. STRAUS.

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THE DUTY OF CONGRESS.

I PREMISE my observations with the statement that I have no sympathy with what is termed "cosmopolitanism,"—my political creed being that of the patriot. In other words, I believe that the existence and honor of a nation are paramount to the private interests of its citizens, and that it is the duty of every citizen to sacrifice his fortune, and his life if necessary, in order to protect the existence and honor of his country. On the other hand, I am fully convinced that no greater wrong can be perpetrated by a nation than to engage in war for an insufficient cause, and I am further convinced that a sufficient cause can arise only when its existence is imperilled and when the honor of its flag is at stake.

Thus much being postulated, the first question that suggests itself in an analysis of the Venezuelan affair is whether our existence or our honor is concerned. Certainly neither is directly involved, as not a foot of territory belonging to the United States is in jeopardy, and none of its citizens has been injured or threatened with injury in the slightest degree. Nevertheless it is claimed that our existence—or at least our honor—is at stake in the dispute between England and Venezuela, for the reason that Venezuela is situated on the American continent. It is admitted that she is a nation as independent as our own, and treats with other nations as sovereign with sovereign, but that nevertheless her geographical situation makes us a party to her quarrels, rendering her interests our interests, and binding us to defend them at the point of the sword. In other words, the advocates of war with England claim for us a species of suzerainty over the Western hemisphere, which, although it gives us no rights whatever over the independent nations of that hemisphere, and permits those nations to bestow or barter away their rights and territory to any one without consulting us, yet burdens us with the paramount duty of protecting them against any one who may attempt to deprive them of those rights without their consent. And this species of suzerainty is claimed to be thrust upon us by what is called the Monroe Doctrine.

But the most cursory examination of President Monroe's Message

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to Congress of December 2, 1823, on which this so-called doctrine is based, shows it to be directed specifically against the then existing "Holy Alliance" of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France, it being feared that those Powers might interpose in favor of Spain to resubjugate South America, in order to extend their "political system"—the autocratic monarchy as opposed to the constitutional monarchy and the republican form of government—to that continent. It was, indeed, on the suggestion of the English government, which seriously feared for itself the extension of that system, that President Monroe undertook to announce our opposition to that interposition. That he had in mind no claim of suzerainty, or any object other than that of the defence of liberal institutions against absolutism, is evidenced by the following citation:—

"We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend *their system* to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere . . . In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, *and to this we have adhered and shall continue to adhere*, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security. . . . It is impossible that the *allied powers* should extend *their political system* to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold *such interposition*, in any form, with indifference. . . . *It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves*, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course."

I have italicized those parts of the citation which show the object in view, particularly for the reason that in the common citations of the Message, made for the purpose of applying its language to the present controversy between England and Venezuela, the passages which alone apply to this controversy are always absent. And necessarily so: for, in the face of the declaration that in a dispute between a European Power and a South American republic it is the policy of the United States to "leave the parties to themselves," how could the Message be tortured into meaning that in such a dispute it would be the policy of the United States *not* to leave the parties to themselves? And how could a declaration to the effect that it is the duty of the United States, in the event of such a dispute, to preserve its neutrality,

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be twisted into a claim on the part of the United States for a paramount lordship over the American continents?

Moreover, forty years after the Message, Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, took pains, in his instructions to Mr. Dayton, our Minister to France, to expound the attitude of the United States as to Mexico and all other states of the American continent in the following terms:—

"The United States hold in regard to Mexico the same principles that they hold in relation to all other nations. *The United States have not a right nor a disposition to intervene by force on either side* in the lamentable war which is going on between France and Mexico. On the contrary, *they practise in regard to Mexico*, in every phase of the war, the *non-intervention* which they require all foreign Powers to observe in regard to the United States."

And no one will deny that Mr. Seward was a statesman and a patriot, or that he had knowledge of the Monroe Doctrine.

Notwithstanding, however, that there be no basis in the Monroe Doctrine, or in the law of nations, or in any other law, for our interference in the Venezuela dispute, may there not be justification for that interference on some other ground, or may there not be some particular interest which justifies the United States in engaging in war?

It is quite possible that, did the dispute refer to a territory contiguous to ours, interference on our part might be justified in order to avoid a future jeopardy of our existence. But the fear that the Venezuelan boundary dispute may involve such a contingency does not fall far short of the ludicrous. The ground of the fear must be this: England is known to be a grasping country, and the boundary dispute is a mere pretext by means of which she expects to acquire a large slice of Venezuelan territory. That once obtained, the pretext for another boundary dispute will easily be found, until the entire state is absorbed. This will then bring a British colony to the confines of Colombia, which state too, by successive boundary disputes, will in turn fall; and thus, step by step, our Anglo-Saxon cousins will make themselves masters of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, and Mexico; and then finally, hemmed in by a British colony in the South and a British colony in the North, the United States will be an easy prey.

If it were worth while to answer this contention at all, it would suffice to say that, in view of the leisurely habit of boundary disputes (the one now under discussion has now lasted about sixty years), it is not becoming for a nation which respects itself to fall into hysterical

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alarm over a contingency so remote that it could not draw a tear from *Clever Alice* herself.

But upon closer examination it becomes apparent that even this exaggerated *Clever Alice* doctrine is, after all, not the real cause of the proposed war; for the claim of our government is not that a British colony shall not advance its boundaries, but that it shall not advance them without the consent of the state affected, or, in default of that consent, without arbitration. As far, therefore, as President Cleveland is concerned, England might go on advancing its boundaries on the American continent till doomsday, provided only that the extension be agreed to by the parties concerned, or be allowed by tribunals in the composition of which we claim no part. Here is his own language:—

"Great Britain's present proposition has never thus far been regarded as admissible by Venezuela, *though any adjustment of the boundary which that country may deem for her advantage, and may enter into of her own free will, cannot, of course*, be objected to by the United States."

Thus, the "encroachment towards our territory" theory is thrown over in favor of another theory, for which, forsooth, we must go to war: namely, that all questions between foreign nations must be submitted to arbitration, under penalty of war with the United States, provided only that one of the nations interested is American. But even this principle, when subjected to analysis, is found not to furnish a pretext for our proposed war; for England is and always has been willing to arbitrate her difference with Venezuela, excepting only as regards a comparatively small territory which for years has been settled by Englishmen on the faith of the understanding of the English government that the territory involved is absolutely English. This territory, only, the English government believes it cannot without moral obloquy subject to the hazards of an arbitration which, if adverse, would turn its inhabitants adrift into the unsettled conditions that have so long prevailed, and that possibly may yet prevail, on Venezuelan territory. Out of the 52,000 square miles now in dispute, only 9,400 are comprised in this territory: an insignificant matter in South American boundary disputes, the one now existing between France and Brazil alone covering an area of more than 100,000 square miles. And surely it will not be asserted by the most extreme upholder of the theory of arbitration that all claims that may be made between nations are subject to arbitration.[1] If the

[1] Elisée Reclus in his monumental work, "The Earth and Its Inhabitants," says (South America, Vol. II, p. 49, American edition): "In colonial times the

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Dominion of Canada should claim the State of New York, or if Spain should claim Florida, no one would urge that those claims could be arbitrated. If a nation holding a foremost rank among the civilized nations of the earth solemnly assures us that she cannot, without betraying her subjects, relinquish certain territory, insignificant in extent, is it not our duty to believe her?

But the whole theory of arbitration is abandoned by the President almost in the same breath in which it is announced; for he declares that our demand for arbitration will cease if, upon the report of a Commission appointed by ourselves, at our own instance, we should come to the conclusion that the claim of England to the territory to be withheld from arbitration is well founded. So that, in its final essence, the cause of our proposed war with England is the following doctrine: In disputes between foreign nations, provided one of them be of the Western hemisphere, it becomes the duty of the United States, on its own motion, and without the request of either of the parties, to determine whether or not the dispute shall be left to arbitration; and, if the determination be in favor of arbitration, this determination must be supported by immediate war against the nation refusing to arbitrate. It is for this doctrine,—be it designated by the name of Monroe or Cleveland,—and for none other, that we are called upon to sacrifice our fortunes and our lives and endanger the existence of our nation. The very thought is appalling.

But after all, it may be said, what need is there of a doctrine except for a pretext? If the real interests of our nation are such as to imperatively demand war, what matters the immediate cause? Have not the immediate causes of some of the bloodiest wars in history been extremely slight, and but pretexts for the deeper interests lying beyond? And truly, in carefully examining our warlike speeches and editorials,

nearest Spanish stations were those on the banks of the Orinoco, beyond the frontiers proposed by Great Britain, and since then no part of the territory has ever been occupied by the Venezuelans. The negotiations that had been opened in 1894 with a view to the settlement of these frontier questions fell through because the Venezuelan government insisted on including *their groundless* claims to the northwestern district,—claims that the British government considered to be so 'unfounded and so unfair to the colony of British Guiana as not to be proper subjects for arbitration.'—(Lord Rosebery)." To the statement (Vol. I, p. 79) that England has hitherto declined to submit the question to arbitration, the American editor adds the following note:—"And will continue to do so until Venezuela withdraws her claim to the Barima district and gives up some other wholly preposterous demands."

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we soon find that, after all, it is not so much the question of right and wrong in the Venezuelan affair which prompts them, as general antagonism to England; for all applaud the President's plan to discover whether England is right or wrong, and therefore admit by implication that England may be right in her contention. In fact, the President himself yielded to this often expressed antagonism, otherwise he would have appointed a Commission first, and threatened war only after that Commission had declared England to be wrong. The basis of those warlike speeches and editorials, and of the Message itself, can therefore be found only in the theory that our interests and those of England are generally at variance, and that war between us is necessary, no matter what may be the proximate cause.

When examined closely it is found that this variance is alleged to consist in England's aggrandizing herself unduly; that in time such aggrandizement will be at our expense; and that therefore we must now call a halt. On final analysis, however, it is difficult to find any substantial ground for this alarm, and the feeling is resolved into one of envy rather than of fear. But envy of England, or of any growing nation, comes certainly with ill grace from us, who have aggrandized ourselves so marvellously in the hundred years since we became a nation. From thirteen colonies, occupying a narrow strip of land along the coast, by a continuous series of conquests from Indian tribes and from Mexico, and by purchases from France and Spain and Russia, we have become one of the greatest and most powerful nations on the globe, without a protest on the part of England or any other European power. On the contrary, it was largely through England's assistance, through the enormous capital that she has loaned us, and through the gigantic dimensions of our commerce with her, that we have obtained the means of fructifying our vast accessions and moulding ourselves into a homogeneous nation. In return for this shall we look with envy on her own good fortune, and shall we seek to find pretexts for assaulting and dismembering her? How singular, too, that we should rejoice at the prospect of a war with a nation whose institutions are as free as our own, in the hope that she may thereby be destroyed for the aggrandizement of Russia—a nation which, however friendly her relations with us, is nevertheless founded on autocratic institutions diametrically opposed to our own. And among the mass of contradictions in which we are being involved by our war fever, not the least is that the Monroe Doctrine—that defence of free institutions against the autocratic system—should now be invoked to enable the

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greatest autocracy of all to shatter free institutions by destroying England who, with us, forms the chief bulwark of those institutions.

But it may be urged that all these considerations are too late: that the President of the United States, in a Message to Congress unanimously approved by Congress, having seen fit to declare to the world that, unless England comply with our demands, war should be declared against her, has thereby committed our honor to war, and that every citizen, no matter how strong his conviction that the cause of the war be unjust, is nevertheless in duty bound to lay aside those convictions, and urge Congress to support the President, be he right or wrong. From this view I dissent entirely. I do not consider our honor involved in favor of war, but rather the reverse; and therefore, while I am uncompromisingly of the opinion that after war is upon us, no matter for what cause, it is the duty of every citizen loyally to stand by his flag and to sacrifice his fortune and his life for his country, I believe it to be now no less his duty, if he considers the proposed war unrighteous or impolitic, to raise his voice fearlessly, in order to prevent the dread consummation.

My reasons for not considering our honor involved in the controversy are based upon the following consideration: Our country is republican, not only in form, but also in principle; the nation, and not the President or Congress, is the sovereign. This sovereignty of the nation reposes on constitutional safeguards, and the paramount honor of the nation consists in guarding its own sovereignty by preventing a violation of its Constitution by its own constituted agents. All acts done by those agents outside the scope of their constitutional authority cannot involve the honor of the nation any more than the act of the humblest servant, contrary to the scope of his authority, can affect the honor of his master. Therefore the act of the President, even though approved by Congress, in so far as he threatened war,—such threat being in violation of that most important constitutional safeguard of the nation's sovereignty which entrusts the power of, and responsibility for, declaring war solely to Congress,—no more involves our honor in the dispute than if the threat had been made by the humblest citizen of the land. Otherwise the war-making power will have been devolved from a deliberative body to the Executive,—a single individual; and we shall then suffer most of the ills inherent in an autocratic government without any of its benefits. Any capricious, irascible, or theatrical President may without a moment's notice send ultimatums right and left, and keep the country

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in a constant state of unrest to an extent that a Czar of Russia would not venture. Under any theory by which Congress is pledged to war by the President's act, it is the President himself who has declared it, leaving to Congress no further right than to register his decree. And under such theory we have ceased to be a republic as truly as Rome ceased to be one long before the consuls ceased formally to register the will of the Emperors. In the present contingency, as in every other, we have, as a sovereign nation, one paramount duty, from which no sophistry and no passion can relieve us; we must act righteously. As for Congress, each member, mindful of his oath to support the Constitution, must cast his vote, if for war, in full consciousness that nothing can relieve him from his own awful responsibility. It is therefore the plain duty of every member to divest himself entirely of any feeling of obligation on account of the passage of the Commission Bill. It must be borne in mind that that bill was passed without deliberation, under an apparent patriotic impulse similar to that which stampeded the French legislative body into the disastrous war against Germany. It must be remembered, too, that the Commission owes its creation to the President, who has threatened war, and that therefore its members—however eminent and however impartial—are nevertheless acting under the stress of saving from criticism him to whom they owe their official existence, and are prone to be apologetic, even if unbiased. For these reasons it will be manifestly the duty of Congress to refrain from a declaration of war on their report unless they not only be unanimous, but also that their conclusions be entirely free from doubt or qualification; for, if there be any doubt or any qualifications, our country should have the benefit thereof.

Second, in the event that the report of the Commission be unanimously and unqualifiedly opposed to the contention of Great Britain, it will not in itself justify a declaration of war; for, as we are not directly involved in the Venezuelan controversy not only the facts but also the cause must be clear beyond dispute. Inasmuch as this cause is at best indirectly derived from the so-called Monroe Doctrine, it will be the duty of Congress to define that Doctrine, and to declare in what manner it has become the law of the land, as it certainly is not a part of our Constitution, does not form a part of any of our treaties, nor has it ever been enacted by any Congress. Moreover, as, to say the least, its very meaning is the subject of serious differences of opinion, Congress, before declaring war by reason of it, must give it an authoritative interpretation, so that we may know for what we are to shed our blood;

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and if this Doctrine should be ignored, and simply our present interests are held to require war, then Congress must define exactly what those interests are, and in what respect they have been injuriously affected.

Third, it is clear that if the cause of the war is the protection of our present interests, the claim that these have been interfered with can be maintained only by the claim, on our part, of a protectorate or suzerainty over both American continents,—at least as to their relations with European Powers. If this protectorate is simply a duty, without any corresponding rights, so that we are obliged to sacrifice our lives and fortunes and endanger our existence at the beck and call of any South American republic, while we have not the slightest right to interfere with any arrangements or treaties such republic may voluntarily make with foreign Powers, it is difficult to see why we should fight. It can hardly be argued that our nation shall declare itself a Knight Errant, Limited, with the duty of protecting the weak against the strong in certain latitudes and longitudes only. If the protectorate is to be substantial, it must secure for us in exchange a guaranty on the part of the protected Republics that they will not make any treaties or enter into any relations with foreign Powers—by ceding to them any territories, permitting them any influence over their commerce, or in any way affecting their policy and destiny—without our consent. And, indeed, many partisans of the war are already declaring its true object to be to check England's growing South American trade, which, they claim, unless so checked, will, in time, practically exclude our own. In fact, their avowed object in clamoring for war is to turn the tables and secure for ourselves the complete monopoly of that trade, to the exclusion of England and of all other Powers. The protectorate which they have in view is not by any means the philanthropic one which appears on the face of the President's message, but one which is to give us a very profitable return in dollars and cents.

But what evidence is there that such a protectorate would be acceptable to the South American states? Might not the claim alarm them more than any fear of aggression on the part of European Powers? The claim, moreover, is portentous in that it involves not only the destiny of the South American Powers, but it also seriously affects directly England, Holland, France, Spain, and indirectly every European nation which may have, or may desire to secure for itself, advantages in South America. Before declaring war, therefore, Congress must first assure itself that no coalition of South American as well as

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of European Powers will be effected for the purpose of generally opposing our Pan-American supremacy; so that at least we may rely on the general neutrality of the rest of the world. But even from Venezuela we must be actually assured of an unqualified alliance: this cannot be taken for granted. For at the outset of the war we could not protect her, as we have no navy at present with which to cope with that of England. She would therefore be subjected to all the calamities of war,—to blockade, bombardment, and invasion; and the mere satisfaction that possibly we should overrun Canada would be a sorry consolation for the slaughter of her citizens and the ruin of her fortunes. Venezuela, too, may distrust us on account of our very anxiety to go to war for her benefit, and may fear that that war, in the event of victory on our part, may cost them more than the value of the disputed territory which she would gain; while in case of defeat we may be forced to sacrifice her in order to preserve ourselves.

There is no evidence that the President has paid the slightest attention to any of these considerations, or that he has sought alliances or pledges of neutrality from the other nations of the globe, and the fact that, before advising or threatening war, this was incumbent upon him, will not justify Congress in rushing into a declaration of war without having obtained the assurances mentioned,—and in a manner that will make them absolutely reliable in any contingency.

Fourth, in the event that, before the Commission reports, the President shall have received reliable assurances from the European nations that they not only will not form any coalition against us, but will maintain the strictest neutrality; and shall have received assurances from the South American republics that they will accept without hesitation whatever conditions of partial dependency we may be forced to make in exchange for our protection, so that the contest will be a duel between us and England,—it will nevertheless be the duty of Congress to deliberate with the utmost solemnity before declaring war. For it must be remembered that the war, even if it be righteous, would still be aggressive, and that to declare it before we are prepared would mean to imperil at the outset the very cause for which it is to be declared. The general conviction which possesses us, that eventually we must triumph, for the reason that we are invincible, is not a sufficient justification for rushing into an aggressive war. To make such a war successful, we must not defend, but attack; and an attack which would be limited to overrunning Canada (a colony which is already semi-independent, and which many believe will some day

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become a part of us peaceably) would not be adequate. We must be able to press England hard; we must, at least, command the Caribbean Sea and capture the English possessions in South America and in the West Indies; we must wound her, too, in Asia and Africa, and on the Mediterranean, with the final object of carrying the war into England itself. But, whether we attack or defend, we must not expect to have a mere triumphal procession; for even those who clamor most must admit that we shall have in England a foeman worthy of our steel. By all means let us take an example from history, and not declare war with "a light heart." The consequences to us, even if assured of victory, would be so grave that we may well pause: if defeated, in the upheaval of nations which defeat may bear in its train, no one can predict what may emerge from the chaos.

Therefore, if war there must be, let it be only after so thorough a preparation that a speedy victory may at least be hoped for. Give us first a navy that can sweep the waters of the world, and an army that can cope with the armies of the world. To the objection that such a preparation will take time,—even years,—the answer is that boundary disputes also take time. Our only loss by waiting until we are prepared is that England will continue to occupy an insignificant disputed territory in the interval. On the other hand, under the best auspices, our risks in rushing into a war without preparation are too frightful to contemplate. If war there must be, therefore, let us prepare at once to convert ourselves from a nation whose ambition has hitherto been the achievements of peace, into a nation ambitious for glory, for supremacy, and conquest; and if this change is to be made, let us at least look to the consequences.

Congress is not estopped from deliberating because it has passed a bill for the appointment of a Commission to decide a question of fact, and because the President has urged that if that question of fact be decided adversely to England, we must enforce that decision by arms. Congress can never be estopped from obeying every mandate of the Constitution, and every member must bear in mind that it is in him, and not in some irresponsible commission appointed by the Executive, that the Constitution reposes the terrible power of declaring war. No member can shirk his duty or diminish it in the slightest degree by anything said or done by any individual, no matter how high he may be placed in the councils of the nation, and no matter what position he may have taken, or announcements he may have made. To claim the contrary, in view of the frightful consequences of war, would be fatal

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to our institutions. Congress must deliberate. And if it deliberates, the considerations above presented, and many others to the same end, cannot fail to be realized by every member. And if so, will the majority of our Representatives in both Houses be able to bring their consciences to vote for war? It is incredible. It seems impossible.

ISAAC L. RICE.

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"GERMAN-AMERICANS" AND THE LORD'S DAY.

My father used to describe a person of small stature and of no large mental furnishing, but who had four initials to his name, as having "a long label for a half-ounce phial." The title of Mr. Holls's article, in The Forum for January last,—"The 'German Vote' and the Republican Party,"—strikes me as a small tag on the Heidelberg Tun. If Mr. Holls thinks either that the Republican party should govern New York, or that the last city election was on the Tammany side because of the loss of the German vote, and that they must keep that German vote at any cost, I do not agree with him. First, because I should be glad if party politics were kept out of municipal elections. Second, because I am informed, at least, that the stay-at-home Republicans lost the city election. And third, because there are some prices that cannot be paid for anything. But that is a matter of no special concern to me. The subjects which he discusses are matters of very deep concern, reaching far beyond party advantages or national peculiarities; and the danger of the article lies in the fact that its inner meanings and conclusions are concealed under the appearance of a far less important issue than it really raises. My respect for Mr. Holls is most warm and true. He and I are agreed on more subjects than those on which we differ; and his admirable service in the Constitutional Convention to the cause of higher education and to the protection of the suffrage made most people in this State, including myself, his admirers and his debtors. All the more, therefore, I feel bound to utter my protest against the tone and drift of his article.

The article is unfair and unjust in many ways, not the least in its confounding of names and its confusion of things which have no relation to each other. There is a difference between so-called Sabbatarianism and a desire to keep Sunday from being secularized. The people who do not want saloons open on Sunday are not all prohibitionists. And there are some people who want to keep men out of saloons, who do not want to send women to the polls. Yet Mr. Holls classifies these three together, and sweeps them all in under the head of "fanatics," in order to protest against, not a prohibitory law, not a

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law to keep people from recreation on Sunday, not a law to let women vote, but only against a change of the existing law which regulates Sunday sales. I, for one, decline any association with such company. Again, Mr. Holls speaks of the Sunday law as endeavoring to maintain Puritanical ideas; as "originating in a period of early development and perhaps of less enlightenment"; as tacitly assuming that "the state should enforce the duty of keeping holy the Sabbath day," as dealing "with the (divinely inspired) early Hebrew precepts and traditions." A pretty dangerous parenthesis, Mr. Holls! And while he credits us with sincerity, he classes us with witch-burners and slave-holders. This is a perfectly unjust and unjustifiable mingling and confusing of people and principles.

Mr. Holls also uses the words "liberal" and "liberalizing" in a most loose and dangerous way. The "rapid liberalizing of public opinion" is to do away with certain things that have "firm rooting in the past." We are to have "a liberal and enlightened construction of the words of Christ, 'The Sabbath was made for man.'" It is a pseudo-liberalizing that cuts men loose from the venerable restraints of license, and a mere contradiction of the meaning of our Lord's words to suppose that He handed over the oldest institution of the human race to be dealt with or done away with by man, if he pleases. Mr. Holls and I are in cordial accord on the woman's suffrage question. I hope, if he has seen that acme of irreverent ignorance called "The Woman's Bible," that he will notice to what length this kind of Scriptural exegesis goes.

The identification of the Sunday closing law,—in its enactment and in its enforcement, with its prostitution for purposes of blackmail,—with the spy system and the stool-pigeon, or with its exaggerated applications, is a mere travesty of argument.

The serious element in Mr. Holls's reasoning is its bold maintenance of the proposition to legislate by violating law. He writes:—

"Legal fictions, and the assumed obsolescence of penal laws originating in a period of earlier development, and perhaps of less enlightenment, are as well recognized a method of legal progress as legislation. If by reason of the continued predominance of earlier and stricter views in a politically determining portion of the State, a repeal of such laws is impracticable, this expedient may properly and honestly be adopted by conscientious officials, in order to avoid greater injustice by apparent petty righteousness. This is particularly true in communities where the main object of the law is accomplished, even under a policy of toleration; where, moreover, a literal compliance with the statute would engender the fundamentally dangerous and evil passions of class hatred, malice, backbiting, and wide-spread hostility toward all law; and where public

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service on the part of any official lacking the requisite wisdom and steadiness, or having conscientious scruples against legal fictions and obsolescent statutes, is not compulsory. If answer is made that this theory, logically carried out, would result in haphazard nullification of law by different officials, and finally in anarchy, the reply seems conclusive that as a matter of fact the progress of English law *has been along just these lines*, involving in many instances a disregard of existing provisions which is absolutely unjustifiable in abstract theory."

I confess that to a mind which is not legal, which is used to interpret laws by their language, their objects, and their intention, this is a most dangerous bit of special pleading. It certainly is not "calling a spade a spade," to advise law-breaking as a method for the "gradual modification [of the Sunday law] by the advance of public opinion"; or to describe "the impartial toleration of open saloons and beer-gardens" as the exercise of "the element of discretion" in the enforcement of law. And while I know perfectly well that many people are in favor of the modification of the excise law,—not for the sake of the beer, which they do not care to drink, at any rate, in saloons,—it is impossible to evade the fact that, as between good government and the return to Tammany rule, the people whom Mr. Holls calls German-Americans did, *in effect*, put "the enjoyment of their Sunday beer above their regard for law and order and for decency in local government."

Mr. Holls's statement that England, which is distinguished for keeping the Lord's Day holy, "permits the open sale of stimulants during certain hours on Sunday," needs correction. First, in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, Sunday closing is established, and the sale of liquor shows a decrease of 161,573 gallons per year, while the average number of criminal cases for drunkenness were fewer by one-half after the Sunday closing than they were before, notwithstanding an increase of a million and a half in the population. It may be added that the advocates of Sunday closing in England are greatly in hopes of securing the passage of a law in that interest. The Duke of Westminster, presiding over a committee of the House of Lords, said, not long ago:—

"Public opinion is ripe upon this question, and the immense majority of English people are so strongly in favor of Sunday closing that one cannot but hope and believe that the day is not far distant when we shall see it prevail throughout the country."

And Lord Salisbury said in the House of Lords: "Undoubtedly public opinion is so powerful on this question that there is not sufficient force in either House to resist it very long."

The obnoxious epithets applied by Mr. Holls to the policy of the

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supporters of the existing Sunday law, are of precisely the same sort of argument which Mr. Holls justly condemns: namely, the "sneer at beery and ignorant foreigners," and the like.

The denationalizing of naturalized Americans back into the nationalities which they have left is an evil element in our country; to talk of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, and every other sort of foreign Americans, is wrong and bad. But when not only the old national name is used, but the old national nature is appealed to; and the claim is made, for even a large and reputable part of our citizenship, that it may import its foreign ways and notions into our American life, and either demand immunity from our law or compel us to conform our law to its customs,—it becomes really intolerable. This dangerous and destructive theory has taken possession of some of our Western cities, and wiped out the traditional ideas of our own people, but we can hold our own against it yet awhile in the East. If these racial distinctions are to be maintained, we shall never have any assimilated nationality of our own; and it is for us to see to it that we retain some independent, national, American, characteristic ideas and institutions, to which those who seek the shelter of our country shall conform. The determination to fight the battle of the Boyne annually in the streets of New York; the readiness to fling the bomb of the Russian nihilist or French anarchist in Chicago; the organization of a clan of certain citizens into a procession on St. Patrick's Day; the interpretation of the words "I am an American" to mean, as certain recent events indicate, "I am a hater of England"; and now the proposal to introduce that phase of "the sanctity of German family life" which frequents the beer-garden on Sunday,—such things as these are poor promises of any unification of "all peoples and kindreds and tongues" into an American nationality. There are no German-Americans. They ceased to be Germans in becoming Americans. Our civilization may be Germanic, because it unites Anglo-Saxon and Teuton, but Germanic is not German. This country was Anglo-Saxon before it was Teutonic. And Mr. Holls is too good an American—and I know none better—to want to maintain, in name, nature, or influence, these race lines and class distinctions.

But the gist of my argument touches a higher and a deeper question. I do not hesitate to say—and I should feel so if I lived in New York—that if this German-American vote is to be bought only at the cost of opening saloons on Sunday, any party, any people had better go without it. That sort of "declaration of independence" which cuts

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itself free from existing law had better be relegated to "the forests of Germany" (I suggest the Black Forest), where Lord Acton "dimly descried it." I shall emphasize by italics this expression of what Mr. Holls will call my fanaticism: *Better let Tammany rule and ruin the government of the city of New York than surrender to this demand for the Sunday sale of liquor;* and I base this fanaticism on three grounds:

First, and lowest, there will be a revolt, when it has gone far enough, which will bring back and establish law and order on positive principles of order and law. Second, the fact of *some* saloons being open on Sunday by violation of law paid for to Tammany officials is a disgrace to the guardians of the law; whereas *any* saloons open on Sunday by permission of the legislature is a disgrace to the State, a dishonor to immemorial principles, and a denial of the will of God. And third, the high ground to be taken is that every violation of the character of the Lord's Day is "*malum in se*,"—a sin in itself.

There is a most persistent and inexplicable misconception of the moral element in this question. It is dismissed as Puritanism or Sabbatarianism. It is dealt with as a piece of recent Christian ethics or a remote relic of Hebrew morals. Curiously enough Mr. Holls says "(divinely inspired) early Hebrew precepts and traditions." That means, if it means anything, laws laid down and handed down, from the creation of man, by the authority of God, before there were Hebrews, before Moses, of course before Christ. And this is the exact fact of the case. The setting apart of one day in seven runs back of the memory of man. It was in the very act of the creation, six periods of divine energy and one period of divine rest. And the only thing that the deliverer of the moral law had to do with it was to point back to it and say, "Remember." By the faithful believer, Hebrew or Christian, it will be kept holy, as a day of worship and grateful joy. But with this, human law has nothing to do. Nobody proposes to compel any man to worship God by civil enactment. But the Sabbath's elements of rest, of sacredness, of unsecularity, of difference from other days, are embodied in the creation of the world and in the constitution of man as a direct revelation of the will of God. It is a divine law. It is a moral principle of universal obligation. It is a human necessity. And the sale of anything not absolutely necessary (much more the sale of the most deleterious and dangerous element of commerce); the doing, or the forcing of others to do, any work that can be avoided,—are violations of the Sabbath commandment which is as old as Adam.

I do not care to press the many side arguments: seven days' work

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put upon the traffickers in this trade; the certainty that if beer is to be sold by law there will soon come[1] the demand to legalize the opening of other shops, the employment of other labor; the plain result that men will be doubly tempted to waste wages, to desert their homes, to dissipate their health and strength, and to unfit themselves for work.

I rest my contention simply on the fact that neither human law-making nor human law-breaking can alter any law which is an expression of the will of God. For many years the effort has been made by the great liquor trusts and corporations, which largely elect our legislators in Albany, to change the human expression of the divine law of the Lord's Day, because it could not be enforced. Now the cry is to change it because it has been enforced, against the wishes of a class of our city populations, and with, perhaps, needless elements of odium in its enforcement which ought to be done away with. But the cry in either case is to be unheeded. No so-called personal liberty, no momentary triumph of good government in other municipal matters (important as that is), no victory of the purest and best party in the world, can be purchased at the cost of a violation and defiance of God's declared will. This is the point to be insisted on. The statute-books of a State are to be, not only the expression of the law, human and divine, but the education of people until they know the meaning and the authority of law. The lowering of standards to suit the wishes and opinions of men cannot be dreamed of for a moment by any thoughtful man. The true function of civil law is not only to enforce the right, but to elevate man to a true perception of what is right; and the theory of local option, or personal option, or legislative option, about any revealed expression of the divine law, strikes at the root of morality, saps the foundation of government, and leaves society exposed to whatever may be the passing passion, the political preference, the momentary madness of the hour. It is not a question of *Law*. It is not a question of drink. It is a question of the *Day*.

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

[1] Since the writing of this article it has been proposed to introduce two bills into the legislature this winter, one of which—to "repeal the section of the Penal Code which prohibits selling merchandize on Sunday"—is the fulfilment of my prophecy. The other, couched in covert language, is to legalize the sale of "*milk* and *other* beverages." It should be remembered that milk is already allowed to be sold up to ten o'clock in the morning: yet this bill proposes to allow its sale for an hour in the evening also. This is the only reference to milk, but the term "other beverages" will certainly cover other and less innocent drinks.

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THE HEINE-FOUNTAIN CONTROVERSY.

As *Candide* was advancing along the highway into Eldorado his wondering attention was drawn to several youths of noble beauty who were playing marbles with golden spheres. He immediately considered that such luxury could be afforded only by the sons of the king, and that accordingly he had the extraordinary honor of being in the tremendous presence of the royal family. But presently he learned that gold was as plenteous in Eldorado as gold contracts were in the various silvern lands through which he had passed in his journeys, and, moreover, that those particular lads were not princes of the blood, but children of a struggling literary man whose miserable poverty made him an object of general commiseration.

This veracious and instructive history is mockingly instanced by Heine in relating the intellectual astonishments and subsequent intellectual disillusions which an amiable friend of his was accustomed to experience when he read certain books penetrated with the most golden thoughts. The young gentleman in question ultimately found out that golden thoughts had become as frequent and ordinary in literature as gold marbles were in Eldorado,—a conventional truth that it is still desirable duly to understand, through diligent investigation, if need be; although it is all the better to be aware of it without too feverish an expenditure of difficult and exhausting brain labor.

Not exactly in the Heinean satirical way, but with discrimination, a witty philosopher might shrewdly inquire how far the most golden judgments of journalism (meaning the most confident and most serene) come within the same category. Suffice it here merely to suggest this inviting topic, which assuredly is a trifle dangerous; and I warn pessimistic writers especially to avoid it, lest they precipitate themselves upon a provocative for far too ridiculous severity and wantonness. My own balanced opinion is that editorial judgments are frequently of an excellent order,—are sometimes, indeed, decidedly fine and grand,—but occasionally may pass current among the public with quite as little value attaching to them as was ascribed to gold in Eldorado when *Candide* made his famous visit to that interesting land.

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There was proffered to the Park Commissioners of the city of New York, about a year ago, under the auspices of the leading local German-American societies, a monumental fountain in commemoration of Heinrich Heine, to be executed under contract by Professor Ernst Herter, the well-known Berlin sculptor, and to be ready for erection in the spring of the present year. That proffer represented a singularly lively sentimental enthusiasm, occasioned by circumstances of peculiar interest not alone to German-Americans as such, but equally to all cultivated people. In two cities of Germany an attempt to set up an artistic memorial to Heine the poet had been defeated by the unforgiving bitterness which the official classes and narrow-minded conservatives and aristocrats cherished against Heine the political writer, satirist, and Jew. The City Council of Düsseldorf (Heine's birthplace), and afterward the authorities of Mayence, refused to grant any site for the desired memorial,—refused not with scant courtesy, but with no courtesy at all. A violent discussion was excited, which raged for a considerable time throughout the Empire; and from the spirit of the opposition it was manifest that the same inveterate resentments which had been encountered in Düsseldorf and Mayence would prevail against like applications in other cities. The whole Heine monument project in Germany was therefore abandoned, though very reluctantly.

Thus, on grounds of mere prejudice, Heinrich Heine—incomparably the most popular of all German poets, not excepting Goethe or any other; ranking, by universal recognition, with the very first men of genius of all the world's ages; whose creations have entered more largely and lastingly into the domain of music than those of any other writer—had been formally pronounced unworthy of monumental honors in the land of his birth. It was pointed out last summer, by a writer in the New York "Times," that the rejection of the memorial in the German cities was due to the peculiar electoral system whereby municipal councils in Germany are constituted,—two-thirds of the members being chosen by the classes paying the largest taxes, which necessarily gives permanent control to the aristocracy, the parvenu rich, and conservative individuals generally. This explanation helps to an understanding of the statement already made, which admits of no qualification whatever,—that considerations of aristocratic, political, and race animosity and sullenness, harbored against Heine because of the license of his pen and because of his Jewish birth, were exclusively accountable for the adverse decision. He satirized various German

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institutions; laughed cynically at the exceedingly respectable and solemn "Altdeutschen"; published the most remarkable witticisms about the "*sechs und dreissig Monarchen*" in general and particular; ridiculed the deplorable conditions caused by the conglomeration of petty states of which disunited Germany consisted in his time; and wrote other things of like tendency that remain almost unprintable to this day. All of which was—

> —"ja gegen allen Respekt
> Und alle Etikette:"

—hence the extreme and ineradicable repugnance with which Heine's name and writings are lastingly regarded by the representatives of officialdom and the old-fashioned order of things "*im lieben Vaterland.*"

This Heine-repugnance is, in truth, one of the most conspicuous temperamental peculiarities of very many sensitive Germans, who stubbornly stop short in their interest in him at the all-sufficient remembrance that Germany (that is, Germany of forty to seventy-five years ago) did not suit him, and he did not suit Germany. And there they take their stand—not to be moved except to wrath. Provoke them by proposing such a monstrous thing as an actual Heine monument on sacred German soil, and immediately you may have opportunity to read some of the choicest sarcasm and most furious invective ever produced in Germany since the author of the "Jackass" poems ceased to torture his foes. It is not enough, in the fearful case of condemnation which they make out, to describe Heine by the favorite characterization, "*Ein Talent, doch kein Charakter.*" They declare that he was not merely an unworthy son of Germany, but no German at all: on the contrary, a hater of the Fatherland; forever sneering at and ridiculing his countrymen, "those filthy Teutons"; equally malignant toward all of them, Prussians, Bavarians, Suabians, Westphalians, Hamburgers; utterly incapable of sympathy for any strictly German interests and aspirations; prating of republicanism and liberty, yet uniformly manifesting an insulting contempt and loathing for the common people, to whom he was pleased to apply such designations as "dirty," "unsavory," and the like. Proceeding with their arraignment, they next aver that he was essentially and always French,—from boyhood, when he wrote that passionate Napoleon ballad, "The Two Grenadiers," down to the mattress-grave, from which, in his last days, he addressed a note to his French publisher relating how several of his German compatriots who had come to Paris to see the Universal Exposition

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of 1855 had decided to postpone their homeward journey "in the hope" of being able to attend his funeral. And finally, as the culminating feature of the denunciation, Heine was a Jew,—a baptized Jew, indeed, but all the more bitter-hearted and revengeful because the requirements of the society in which he lived obliged him to adopt the forms of the Christian faith as a prerequisite to a professional career; and as a Jew he was entirely un-Europeanized, an ideal Oriental in vindictiveness, hatred, and thirst for vengeance.

I have endeavored to give a frank indication of the amazing representations and arguments by which the authorities of the two German cities justified their unceremonious refusal of a monument to Heine. It would be quite superfluous to undertake any examination of them on their merits here,—or, for that matter, I think, in any other connection which assumes an average degree of intelligence and discrimination concerning Heine on the part of the reading public. The prompt and signal repudiation of them by the Germans in America, whose tender love for their native country and jealousy of its honor nobody will gainsay, sufficiently distinguishes them as the specialized judgments of very over-sensitive classes. In an address to the Park Commissioners the Heine Monument Committee of New York said:—

> "We were actuated no less by a desire to honor a great and universally beloved German poet, than by the conviction that it would be in perfect keeping with American citizenship and the broadness of view and sentiment which distinguishes the American people, to pay a tribute to the memory of a man who, on account of his progressive and liberal views, incurred the hatred of the reactionary powers that ruled Germany during the supremacy of the Holy Alliance and Metternich's despotic sway; and to whose monument even now, although his songs are sung by millions of his countrymen and have become a precious part of the world's literature, political and race narrow-mindedness refuses a place in the land of his birth."

This explanation of the motives which led to the Heine memorial movement in New York plainly sets forth a perfectly proper and reasonable basis and spirit as characterizing that undertaking. Aside from the peculiarly interesting and important general considerations involved in the Heine Committee's application for a site, there were special circumstances deserving of respectful recognition. The Committee was in all ways a thoroughly representative body of substantial and cultured citizens. It proposed the gift of an ornamental fountain to the city, and took very unusual precautions to ensure a work of high merit, giving the commission to a European sculptor of eminent

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reputation,—the identical artist previously selected by the projectors of the Heine memorial in Germany. The proffer to the Park Board was accompanied by an absolute guaranty of the full amount of the purchase money, the Arion Society having pledged itself to make good any possible deficiency in the popular subscription. No inconvenient conditions of any description were prescribed by the Committee, and the selection of a site was left altogether to the Board, the single suggestion being volunteered that "a suitable place" be assigned, either in Central Park or in the upper part of the city, "where the foliage of trees and shrubs will form a background showing to advantage the beautiful forms and exquisite details of the monument." The German-American ladies of the metropolis displayed an enthusiastic interest in the success of the monument enterprise on popular lines, holding a fair in the Lenox Lyceum in November, from which more than $10,000 was realized for the subscription fund, in addition to a large sum previously subscribed by a number of wealthy German-Americans.

Although the Committee's request for a site was submitted to the Park Commissioners early last year, action upon it was postponed to await the receipt of photographs of the sculptor's completed model. These came to hand in July. Meantime the Commissioners had decided to refer the question of the artistic quality of the design to the National Sculpture Society. The report of that body was delayed until November. Without entering into specifications, the Sculpture Society flatly advised against the acceptance of the work, characterizing it as belonging to a kind of monumental productions of which the city had too many.

This unfriendly judgment, although much regretted by all actively concerned, did not, upon reflection, appear either surprising or necessarily disconcerting. While not engaging in any critical controversy with the National Sculpture Society, the Heine Committee questioned the competency of that body to render a dispassionate verdict in the premises. The Hon. Carl Schurz, in a protest to the Park Board, took the ground that a committee of professional sculptors, all of whom had their personal ideals in art, was not a safe jury to pass upon the work of a competitor,—especially upon that of a foreign competitor. These gentlemen, moreover, had made up their opinion only from photographs of the design. On the other hand, art connoisseurs in Europe who had seen Professor Herter's model, both in his studio and when exhibited at the Berlin Art Exposition, had praised it without stint. Above all, the high standing of Herter among European sculp-

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tors was certainly presumptive evidence that should receive at least equal weight with the recommendations of the New York censors. These representations in reply to the Sculpture Society were respectfully submitted to the Board, coupled with an offer to bring from Berlin a half-size model of the fountain. But the differences occasioned by the adverse report could not be so easily reconciled. The Commissioners proposed to refer the art question to other critics, to be designated by the Fine Arts Federation. The President of that body, however, at a meeting of the Board, and subsequently in a newspaper interview, very emphatically expressed his full agreement with the National Sculpture Society. To put an end to a disputation that was becoming unseemly and would certainly prove unprofitable, the Monument Committee, on the 12th of December, formally withdrew its application for a site. Thus terminated the Heine memorial enterprise so far as New York city was concerned.

As a debate respecting an art matter, the whole controversy presented only *ipse dixit* against *ipse dixit;* and it would not be at all ethical for a non-amateur to venture to decide between the two. The fountain will probably now be offered to and acquired by some other city; and with this in view a few words, aside from the recent curious æsthetic disagreement, are in order.

A very strange aspect of the New York controversy was the stubborn hostility of certain influential newspapers, on grounds entirely unrelated to the art question. Long before the photographs of the sculptor's model were received, one of the leading morning journals entered decided objections against granting a site to the memorial. Its chief reasons, as stated at the time and as elaborated subsequently, were that the city had in the past been far too generous in awarding choice locations for monuments to great foreigners, and ought to call a complete halt to that practice; and that, as to the specific proposal to honor Heinrich Heine with a memorial, it peculiarly lacked suitable urgency: first, because Heine was in no way identified with America, even by association; and second, because he "could not be credited" with "the overwhelming genius which compels recognition."

It is unfortunate that the Park Commissioners of New York did not find it convenient to express themselves officially on these propositions. Considering the importance of the newspaper in which they were urged, and its high reputation for catholic judgment, as well as the general indorsement of them by other New York journals, they induce interesting reflections.

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As "patriotism" is one of the finest of all words, "nativism" is one of the most unpleasant. But it would be harsh to charge even a portion of the New York press with a nativistic spirit in its late opposition to the Heine memorial. There was undoubtedly a saving clause in that opposition,—the declination to recognize "the overwhelming genius" of Heinrich Heine. Never has the metropolitan press taken an indignant stand against monuments to celebrated characters, American or foreign, provided they have been able to establish due title to overwhelming genius. Among the practical evidences which may be mentioned to sustain the virtuous and intelligent integrity of the press in this respect, is our present enjoyment of those beautiful and patriotic works of art, the Bolivar, Garibaldi, Cox, Dodge, and De Peyster statues. If Heine had been correspondingly gifted with illustrious intellect, the decision in his case, as tried by newspaper, might have been different. Such, at all events, is the inference from the record of the past, and also from the words of the able New York press.

I fully appreciate the inexactitude with which phrasings are sometimes turned in the hurry of newspaper offices; and perhaps the one I have cited touching Heine's deplorable lack of overwhelming genius does not do complete justice to the editor. This seems the more possible because of some other erroneous statements in the same connection,—notably that the "Heine fountain was sent to New York out of determination to erect it somewhere"; which I describe as an erroneous statement because it might be discourteous to name it a deliberate misrepresentation.

The main objection to the Heine memorial—that it is time to quit giving away monument sites to foreigners—is based on the observation that "there are innumerable generations of statue-deserving men in the United States still to come," for whom places must be reserved. A proper reply to this is that there are innumerable generations still to come which, whether they produce statue-deserving men or not, will give the world none who can excel the dramas of Shakespeare, the tales of Boccaccio, the sustained poems of Shelley, or the lyrics of Heine.

The Heine fountain which the New York critics—for unexplained reasons—do not desire has for its distinguishing characteristic a representation of the charm and splendor of Heine's song. (Of course, with humble apologies to the National Sculpture Society, I mean by this an *attempted representation.*) On that account it has been criticised thus:—

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"The main subject, Heine, is pretty deeply buried in the spirit of fairy lore which flourishes so delightfully in the Teutonic mind, but which shrivels too much when exposed to the sun of this hemisphere."

Having already pointed out certain seeming deficiencies of the editorial discretion, I make bold to question whether the foregoing fairly represents the editorial wit at its best. We are accustomed to hear so much smarter things observed about the vagaries of the dreamy German mind. For example, there is the familiar saying that these Germans are the most curious people in the world: whenever they feel merriest they begin to sing Heinrich Heine's "Lorelei" song—"I know not what it meaneth that I am so sad." It is somewhat in the same contradictory spirit that the Heine fountain is conceived,—to bring back to the beholder who knows his Heine well a throng of recollections of the fascinating yet mournful Heine imagery:—

Aus alten Märchen winkt es
Hervor mit weisser Hand,
Da singt es und da klingt es
Von einem Zauberland.

. . . . .

Und Liebesweisen tönen,
Wie du sie nie gehört,
Bis wundersüsses Sehnen
Dich wundersüss bethört.

This expresses the real fairy lore in Professor Herter's Heine fountain; and if it has a tendency to shrivel when exposed to the sun of this hemisphere, so much the worse for tender sentiment and delicate refinement among us!

WILLIAM STEINWAY.

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NOTABLE SANITARY EXPERIMENTS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

MASSACHUSETTS, more than any other State in the Union, is a Commonwealth of cities. With a total population of less than 2,500,000, and with an area of only 7,800 square miles, it has no less than thirty-nine cities or towns of 10,000 or more inhabitants, and twenty cities of 25,000 or more. More than three-fourths of the people of Massachusetts live in cities or towns having more than 7,000 inhabitants. Here, also, for the last quarter of a century, perhaps even more rapidly than elsewhere, the cities have been gaining while the country has been losing population; and here, therefore, earlier than almost anywhere else in America, those sanitary problems have had to be met which inevitably arise when large communities occur in close proximity. Chief among these problems are those relating to water-supply and sewerage. In the early recognition, and especially in the practical and scientific solution, of these problems, so that their settlement by the legislature has become an easy matter, the State Board of Health of Massachusetts has performed a unique and remarkable service. Chief among the things which this Board has done for sanitary science since 1886 has been the establishment of a method of procedure and a fund of knowledge by which any American Commonwealth henceforward may, if it will, meet and scientifically provide for the often conflicting needs of neighboring communities of large size, in respect to water-supply and sewerage.

The year 1849 was one of unusual sickness and mortality in Massachusetts. Typhoid fever, dysentery, and scarlet-fever prevailed to an unusual extent, and Asiatic cholera destroyed about 1,200 of its population. By authority of the legislature, a Commission was appointed to report upon the sanitary condition of the State. One of the primary recommendations of this Commission advised the establishment of a "General Board of Health," the functions of which were very clearly stated; and when, twenty years later, such a Board was finally established (in 1869), under the title of the "State Board of Health and Vital Statistics," it was organized very nearly in ac-

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cordance with the suggestions of the Sanitary Commission of 1849. The first chairman of the Board was Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch, one of the pioneers in American sanitation, who, on assuming the office, affirmed for himself and his colleagues,—

"We feel the responsibilities of the position we hold. We accept them, with an earnest wish to be able to grapple successfully with the various difficulties that surround this very important branch of the public service."

The composition of the original Board was significant. It did not consist of physicians alone, but included in its membership representative citizens from other professions and from the ranks of business and political life, thus at the outset recognizing the fact that the interests of life and health are many-sided, and intimately concern, not the medical profession alone, but the industrial, the financial, the legal, and other aspects of modern society as well.

From the very start questions concerning the water-supply and sewerage of cities and towns began to occupy the attention of the Board. In its first annual report the secretary states that "the drainage and water-supply of crowded communities is still insufficient." In the second report (for 1870) we find a special paper on the pollution of Mystic Pond (a tributary of the Boston water-supply) by drainage from tanneries in Woburn: and we are warned that—

—"as the interests of life and health become more definite and more valued, and as manufactories and population grow and multiply, the apparent conflict between health and industry will yearly become more evident. It is our duty, if possible, to show that these important interests are not irreconcilable, and to give a word of warning in season to prevent their relations from being forgotten until it is too late to remedy the omission, except at enormous cost."

In 1872 the legislature of Massachusetts resolved that—

—"the Board of Health be requested to consider the general subject of the disposition of the sewage of towns and cities, having in view, first, its utilization as a fertilizer; second, sanitary effects of draining the same into the waters of the Commonwealth; third, the increasing joint use of watercourses for sewers and as sources of supply for domestic use by the people of the Commonwealth."

In compliance with this request the Board, in the following year, made (in its fourth annual report) a special, very interesting, comprehensive, and instructive report on sewage and sewerage, the pollution of streams, and the water-supply of towns. The fifth, seventh, eighth, and ninth reports contained, respectively, special papers on the condition of certain

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rivers, with considerations touching the water-supply of towns; on the pollution of rivers, the water-supply, drainage, and sewerage of the State from a sanitary point of view, and the disposal of sewage; on pollution of streams, disposal of sewage, etc.; and on drainage and health, sewerage, and pollution of streams.

In 1881 the legislature requested the Board to report on the pollution of the Blackstone River by the city of Worcester, and in the same year authorized a Commission to consider the drainage of the valleys of the Mystic and Charles rivers with the estimate of cost. The chairman of this Commission was the well-known engineer, Mr. E. S. Chesbrough, and here, as has so often fortunately happened in Massachusetts, engineers and physicians worked together with great advantage to the public health. The report of these Commissioners was of special importance, inasmuch as they formally recommended "a metropolitan district system" which should "preserve, so far as is practicable by general sewerage, the purity of the water-supply of the cities included in this district." In 1882 the State Board of Health reported their investigations of the pollution of the Blackstone River. In February and March, 1884, the legislature's Joint Standing Committee on Health had a long and elaborate series of hearings in regard to the pollution of the Blackstone River by the city of Worcester, and also took a large amount of evidence in relation to preventing the pollution of water-supplies of cities and towns.

In 1884, also, a Commission, of which John Quincy Adams was chairman, and Eliot C. Clarke was chief engineer, was appointed to consider the question of a general system of drainage for the valleys of the Mystic, Blackstone, and Charles rivers. To enable this Commission to carry on its investigations the sum of $20,000 was at the same time appropriated by the legislature. The report of this Commission, known as the "Report of the Massachusetts Drainage Commission," appeared in 1886, and is a sanitary document of very great interest and value. Time has abundantly proved that one, in particular, of the recommendations of this Commission, wisely adopted by the legislature of 1886, was pregnant with the highest consequences for sanitary science. In brief, this recommendation was that, in order to enable the legislature satisfactorily, equitably, and scientifically to settle the difficult and often conflicting questions of water-supply and sewerage for the various cities and towns of the Commonwealth, the whole subject be referred to some competent body for investigation, and that this body should consult with, and be ready to give expert

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advice to, such cities and towns, or to the legislature itself. The Commissioners put the case as follows:—

"The growth of population, the spread of modern refinements of living, the increase in industrial establishments, and all the infinite multiplication of incidents appertaining to a prosperous and progressive community must naturally and perhaps inevitably tend to vitiate the water of its rivers and lakes. . . . We think it very desirable that there should be some expert authority to consult with towns and cities looking for pure and adequate water-supplies, or searching for unobjectionable methods of sewerage. The difficulties in these directions are becoming greater each year, and the resultant confusion and complication more embarrassing. . . . "We think it is high time that some steps should be taken to arrest the progress of rivers' pollution at the point it has reached to-day in Massachusetts, and gradually to retrieve some portion, at least, of the ground we have carelessly yielded. . . . In the year 1879 the legislature entrusted the care of 'the lands, flats, shores, and rights in tidewaters belonging to the Commonwealth', and the supervision of 'all its tidewaters, and all the flats and lands flowed thereby,' to a Board whom it empowered 'to prevent and remove unauthorized encroachments' or whatever 'in any way injures their channels.' . . . Precisely the same principle which enjoins a watchful care over the exterior waters of the State would seem to call for at least an equal solicitude concerning the abuse of its interior waters. . . . We think it would be well for the legislature to designate some one or more persons to look after the public interests in this direction. Let these guardians of inland waters be charged to acquaint themselves with the actual condition of all waters within the State as respects their pollution or purity, and to inform themselves particularly as to the relation which that condition bears to the health and well-being of any part of the people of the Commonwealth. . . . Let them make it their business to advise and assist cities or towns desiring a supply of water or a system of sewerage. They shall put themselves at the disposal of manufacturers and others using rivers, streams, or ponds, or in any way misusing them, to suggest the best means of minimizing the amount of dirt in their effluent, and to experiment upon methods of reducing or avoiding pollution. They shall warn the persistent violator of all reasonable regulation in the management of water, of the consequences of his acts. In a word, it shall be their especial function to guard the public interest and the public health in its relation with water, whether pure or defiled, with the ultimate hope, which must never be abandoned, that sooner or later ways may be found to redeem and preserve all the waters of the State."

The time was ripe for action. The legislature adopted the recommendation of the Drainage Commission, and turned to the State Board of Health as the proper body to undertake the new and important functions which it was proposed to create. The Board was reconstituted and reorganized, being endowed not only with the usual powers and duties of a State Board of Health, but with entirely new and peculiar functions in regard to the water-supplies and sewerage of the towns and cities of the Commonwealth. The Board was to become the expert sanitary adviser of the towns, and *a fortiori* of the legis-

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lature, in these particulars; and it was to be liberally supported. As a special recognition of the new functions, Mr. Hiram F. Mills, of Lawrence, the most distinguished civil engineer within the State making a specialty of hydraulics, was persuaded to accept membership in the Board; and subsequent experience has proved that a wiser selection could not possibly have been made.

The time was fortunate, also, in another direction. The germ theory of infectious disease, founded by Pasteur and established by Koch, had become immensely more practical and more widely accepted since the invention of improved methods by Koch in 1881, and the discovery, by the same investigator, of the germ of tuberculosis in 1882, and that of Asiatic cholera in 1883, and since the better knowledge of the germ of typhoid fever introduced by Gaffky in 1884, and of that of diphtheria brought to light by Löffler in the same year. The improved methods referred to had also begun to be applied to water analysis, having been first used by P. F. Frankland upon the London filters in 1885. New possibilities loomed up in public hygiene; and it was therefore natural and fitting that a member of the medical profession distinguished in the department of State medicine should become a prominent member of the Board. Accordingly Dr. Henry P. Walcott, the highest authority in Massachusetts on public hygiene, was made its chairman, a position he has held with honor ever since. The medical profession was further represented in the Board (which consisted of seven members) by Dr. Frank W. Draper, a recognized authority in medico-legal affairs, and Professor of Legal Medicine in Harvard University; and by Dr. Elijah U. Jones, of Taunton, Professor of Hygiene in Boston University. The other members were Messrs. Thornton K. Lothrop, of Beverly, a prominent lawyer; Julius H. Appleton, a paper manufacturer, of Springfield; and James White, a capitalist, of Williamstown. Dr. S. W. Abbott, an authority on vital statistics, was chosen secretary, and the Board began its new duties by appointing an engineer who was to give his whole time to its work. Mr. Frederic P. Stearns, who had already achieved high reputation in engineering work upon the so-called "Improved Sewerage" system of Boston, received the appointment, and remained as chief engineer of the Board until the present year, resigning only in order to carry out, as engineer-in-chief, the vast schemes of the proposed "Metropolitan Water-Supply" for "Greater Boston," a system involving an estimated expenditure of $27,000,000, the entire planning of which, as will appear beyond, was the work of the State Board of Health.

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The statute which provided the new functions for the Board was approved on June 9, 1886, and was entitled "An Act to Protect the Purity of Inland Waters." In substance, and to a large extent in form, it corresponds with that recommended by the Drainage Commission. It has proved to be one of the most novel and satisfactory enactments for the benefit of the public health ever undertaken in America. In one important respect the statute actually adopted differed from that recommended, namely, in providing that the members of the Board should serve without pay; and the value of this qualification can scarcely be over-estimated.

The special functions of the State Board of Health as laid down in this statute, concisely stated, were as follows:—

1. To have the general care and oversight of all the inland waters of the Commonwealth.
2. To recommend legislation and suitable plans for systems of main sewers for the State.
3. To cause examinations of the waters of ponds and streams to be made.
4. To recommend measures to prevent the pollution of waters.
5. To conduct experiments on the purification of drainage.
6. To conduct experiments on the disposal of manufacturing refuse.
7. To consult with and advise the authorities of cities and towns, or with others, with reference to water-supply and drainage.
8. To consult with and advise manufacturers with reference to the disposal of manufacturing refuse.
9. To bring to the notice of the Attorney-General all omissions to comply with existing laws.

The Act further provided that authorities of cities and towns, and all others intending to introduce systems of water-supply or sewerage, shall submit to the Board outlines of their proposed plans or schemes in relation to these subjects; and that manufacturers intending to engage in any business, drainage or refuse from which may tend to cause the pollution of any inland waters, shall also give notice to the Board of their intentions.

The Board immediately proceeded to carry out the provisions of the Act. A "Committee on Water-Supplies and Drainage," consisting of Messrs. Mills, Walcott, and Lothrop, was created; and an engineering department was organized, with Mr. Stearns as chief engineer, and Mr. X. H. Goodnough as assistant engineer. In its first report, dated January 10, 1887, the Board confirms the opinion of the Drainage Commission and says:—

"It is too soon to point out all the far-reaching consequences of the legislation contained in the Act above named. But we are more convinced from day

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to day of the necessity of some control of the questions of water-supply and drainage, so removed from individual towns and cities, as to be able to consider dispassionately the interests of all parties who may be affected by the creation of a water-supply or a system of sewerage. . . ."

It then states *in extenso* precisely what it proposes to do if adequately supported, and concludes:—

"In order to make the series of examinations above outlined, including monthly analyses of all waters used for domestic supply in the State, and biological examinations of certain waters injuriously affected by animal life, together with chemical analyses of other inland waters; to conduct contemplated experiments upon the purification of sewage and refuse from industrial establishments; to make the necessary investigations in order to advise cities, towns, corporations, and individuals in regard to the best method of assuring the purity of intended or existing water-supplies, and the best method of disposing of their sewage; and to carry out the other provisions of chapter 274,—the Board estimates that the sum of $30,000 will be required."

The legislature cheerfully did its part, and granted the large sum asked for by the Board, which thereupon proceeded to complete its organization for work along the lines already marked out. It announced that it was ready to consult with and give advice to any Massachusetts city or town concerning its water-supply or sewerage. At the same time it was distinctly held by the Board that, in order to be able to give adequate and really expert advice, it must experiment and investigate. It was not to rest content with the scanty or imperfect knowledge of these subjects which was too often all that was available, or to accept without trial the methods or the results of scattered or local observers, but, first, to investigate for itself the actual condition of the various water-supplies of the State by all means in its power, whether engineering, chemical, or biological; and, second, after having obtained all available information at home and abroad, to establish an experiment station and make for itself investigations upon the long-vexed questions of the purification of sewage and drinking-water.

The engineering department was already at work. A chemical department was next organized, under the personal direction of Professor Thomas M. Drown, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. All the resources of the latter institution, which, under the lamented William Ripley Nichols and his able lieutenant Mrs. Ellen H. (Swallow) Richards, had already very often been employed in the work of the Board, were enlisted in the new service, a special laboratory being set apart for the purpose. Harvard University and its Medical School contributed important aid to the initiation of the work

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of the biological department, with Mr. G. H. Parker as biologist, and Dr. E. K. Dunham as bacteriologist; and in November, 1887, the work of the Lawrence Experiment Station was begun, under the personal oversight and direction of Mr. Mills.

This experiment station, the first of the kind in America, was located in a building adapted for the purpose, which had been constructed upon land, on the left bank of the Merrimack River, belonging to the Essex Company, and already used at an earlier date by Mr. Mills for his experiments in hydraulics. In 1888 Dr. Dunham, and in 1889 Mr. Parker, resigned, and both were succeeded by the writer.

The first problem attacked at the Lawrence Experiment Station was that of the best method for the disposal of sewage upon land. English and German experience had made it probable that much might be done in this direction in America; but the knowledge available was very limited and of little or no practical value to American engineers, because the climates, soils, sewages, and civil and economic conditions of America are so different from those of Europe. Accordingly, in November, 1887, a series of careful experiments was begun, to test the purifying capacity of various soils and sands occurring in Massachusetts. For this purpose a number of large wooden tubs or tanks built of cypress were cautiously filled with different soils, ranging from muck and garden loam, on the one hand, through fine sand and coarse sand to mixed gravel-stones, other materials, and pebbles, on the other. The soil or sand to be tested was in each case supported on a stratum of stones and gravel, and underdrained through an effluent pipe which emptied into a large measuring basin. The sewage was also measured as it flowed on at the top, and the whole experiment was under control in every respect. Each tank, or "filter," was sixteen feet in diameter, or one two-hundredth of an acre in area, and the filtering material in each case was five feet in depth. The sewage to be experimented with was drawn from one of the main sewers of the city of Lawrence, and was ordinary domestic city sewage free from manufacturing waste.

No experiments of this kind had ever been undertaken before on such a scale or with so much care. For the first time in the history of science, engineers, chemists, and biologists worked together, under the direction of a master in hydraulics, toward one common end,—the promotion of the public health.

The results crowned the endeavor. Intelligent bystanders who saw the sewage flowing upon the filters unhesitatingly predicted fail-

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ure. They felt certain, and did not hesitate to express their belief, that in a fortnight, at the latest, the filters would become clogged and foul, and the whole neighborhood pestilential. They did not know that Berlin, the German capital, disposes of all its sewage upon land. They forgot that the farmer once a year or oftener manures his fields with filth, and that the hungry earth receives the gift with open mouth, devours it, and soon cries out for more. As soon as a few days had passed, and the filters had become established, the effluent began to grow bright and clear. Chemical analyses showed that it was now purified sewage, comparatively free from odor, and poor in organic matters. Bacterial analyses showed that while, as sewage, it was swarming with the germs of putrefaction and decay, it now contained only a few bacteria. Further studies revealed the fact that the foulness of the sewage was not held back as by a strainer, but as wood, by a slow fire, is turned to ashes, the organic matters were reduced to mineral substances. No disagreeable odor developed, and the filters showed no signs of clogging. Thus the very name "filter" became a misnomer. The bystanders were amazed, and could not repress their surprise and admiration.

Meanwhile the data of the experiments were accumulating. Winter came on, and still the "filters" did their work. Already it was proved that land disposal of sewage was possible for America. But, curiously enough, those soils—such as muck and garden loam—which the wiseacres had predicted would be the best, proved to be the worst. They were too close in texture, too fine, too impervious; while sand (such as ordinary mortar sand) or even fine gravel proved to be the most effective. And on looking into the reason why, it was soon learned that the whole process is a vital one. The soils are not mere strainers, for at first they fail to work. They are rather like the living sponge, —an animal whose body is everywhere channelled with fine passages lined with living cells. The fine passages in the body of the sand or soil are the spaces between the sand grains; the living cells are the micro-organisms which, after a few days, come to dwell upon the sand grains and line the passages. Very much as the living cells of a sponge absorb and destroy the organic particles passing by them, the bacteria resident upon the sand grains absorb and work over the organic matters of the sewage poured upon the filter. And exactly as the micro-organisms of which a sponge is essentially composed need oxygen to support their respiration, so those of a filter must have abundant air. This means that the sewage, which is always destitute

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of oxygen, must not be applied continuously, but intermittently, so that air may follow it down through the filter and keep from suffocation the purifying micro-organisms. And this also explains why intermittent downward filtration is always successful under the right conditions, while continuous filtration or upward filtration of sewage fails.

With the main principles once established, it remained only to learn the details of their application. Sand proved better than loam, because it allowed better ventilation. Fine sand proved better than coarse sand, because it seems to be the happy mean, giving full exposure to the air by distributing the sewage in thin films over a great number of surfaces, but yet allowing sufficient ventilation.

The practical results were quick to follow. Once the purifying value of sands of particular sizes was established, it remained only to obtain samples of sand from any town desiring to dispose of its sewage on land, and to examine and compare it with known sands, to be able to predict for that community either success or failure. The town of Framingham soon constructed a large municipal filter under the advice of the Board, and it has proved an unqualified success. The city of Brockton has lately followed suit and built an admirable system of intermittent sand filters for the disposal of its sewage. Henceforward, any city or town—not only in Massachusetts, but in America, or, for that matter, in the world—may, if its soil be right, and other conditions favorable, adopt, with perfect confidence systems for the land-disposal of sewage.

This demonstration alone was a sufficient triumph. But this is only the beginning of what the Board has done in its investigations. Year by year the applications from the various cities and towns of the State for advice in respect to their water-supply or sewerage have been numerous and exacting. In May, 1888, the Act to Protect the Purity of Inland Waters was amended, so as to require cities and towns applying to the legislature for Acts relating to water-supply and sewerage to have appended to their applications the recommendation and advice of the State Board of Health in reference thereto; which practice has ever since been followed. This action was virtually a "vote of confidence" in the work of the Board, and eloquent testimony to its success.

In June, 1887, the legislature had imposed upon the State Board of Health the duty of considering and reporting upon a general system of sewerage for the relief of the valleys of the Mystic and the Charles, together with local systems for each of the towns in these valleys not

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already having such systems, so that they might be served by the general system; and in 1888 a similar duty was imposed concerning a method for the disposal of the sewage of other towns and cities in the lower valley of the Charles. To enable it to carry out the necessary investigations the sum of $15,000 was appropriated, which sum was later increased to $25,000. In January, 1889, the Board made a very valuable and complete report on these subjects, with a plan for a system of sewerage called the "Metropolitan Sewerage System." This elaborate report (which was almost entirely the work of Mr. Mills) was so favorably received that the legislature adopted its recommendations, made the necessary enactments, and appointed Commissioners to carry its recommendations into effect. The Metropolitan Sewerage System is now just completed, and has required altogether an outlay of more than $5,000,000.

Up to the year 1890 the Board in its investigations at Lawrence had been occupied mainly with problems of sewerage. The examinations of the water-supplies had meanwhile gone steadily forward at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, under the wise direction of Professor Drown, and, in particular, one achievement of high scientific interest and very great practical importance had been made. Chemists have long judged of the degree of purity of a water very largely by the amount of common salt that it contains,—in technical language, by the "chlorine." The reason for this lies in the fact that man is a salt-using animal. Wherever man is, salt is; and, conversely, wherever salt is found to any great extent in water (barring, of course, saline regions), the existence of pollution from human habitations may be inferred. But Professor Drown reasoned that, in order to make the chlorine test really valid, one must know the amount of chlorine present in unpolluted waters in the vicinity: in other words, one must compare the amount of chlorine found in any suspected water with that present in a pure natural water drawn near by. Following up this idea the Board set to work, and determined the normal chlorine for the whole State, finding a very curious and valuable result, namely, that the amount of chlorine present in unpolluted natural waters decreases steadily in departing from the sea: being in the Berkshire Hills only one fiftieth part as much as on Cape Cod or Nantucket. A natural water in the Berkshire Hills containing, for example, two parts of chlorine in 100,000 parts of water, would necessarily be grossly polluted; while on Cape Cod or Nantucket one containing only the same amount would be unpolluted and normal. Furthermore, by joining

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points of equal normal chlorine by lines, curves ("isochlors") were obtained which near the sea followed closely the contour of the bays and peninsulas of the coast, but in the Berkshire Hills became more even and took only the general outline of the whole New England coast. This "Normal Chlorine Map" of Massachusetts is both novel and unique in sanitary science. Its practical value is immense, as it allows any competent chemist, studying any natural water from Massachusetts, to say with great certainty, if only he knows its geographical origin, whether it is or is not contaminated with material derived from human habitations.

In 1890 the attention of the Board was further concentrated upon the water-supply problem from another point of view. Typhoid fever, which had long been more than ordinarily abundant in the cities of Lowell and Lawrence, on the Merrimack, broke out in severely epidemic form at Lowell, and soon after, intensified, at Lawrence. I was ordered to make an investigation, and was soon able to show conclusively that the epidemic was due to a special infection of the polluted water-supplies of the two cities, which had long used for drinking the unpurified water of the Merrimack. Experiments upon the purification of water by intermittent filtration were immediately urged forward at the Lawrence Experiment Station, and with such success that in 1892 a municipal filter, two and a half acres in area, was designed for the city of Lawrence by Mr. Mills, acting for the State Board of Health. After some delay on the part of the city this was built and put in operation in 1893. It has now been in service for more than two years, and with the utmost sanitary success. Typhoid fever has sunk practically to the level of that in neighboring cities, such as Nashua and Haverhill, having uncontaminated water-supplies. It is impossible for any one unfamiliar with the condition of Lawrence in respect to typhoid fever before the filter was introduced, to realize what a profound change has taken place. Streets in which typhoid fever formerly abounded at certain seasons of the year are now entirely free from this dreaded disease.

The latest and in many respects the most important of the results of the investigations of the Board has gone into practical effect during the present year. This is the plan for a vast Metropolitan Water-Supply for Boston and its environs, including, in all, twenty-eight cities and towns within ten miles of the State House, and involving an estimated expenditure of $27,000,000. Within this radius there dwell nearly 1,000,000 inhabitants. The water necessary for the present and

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prospective use of this metropolitan district is to be collected on the south branch of the Nashua River, in the central part of the State, from an almost uninhabited watershed, and then conveyed and distributed to the people by an elaborate system of pipes and aqueducts. Provision has been made for future increase of population, and the whole scheme so commended itself to the people that after due deliberation it was adopted by the legislature of 1895. Commissioners have since been appointed by the Governor and Council to carry out the recommendations of the State Board of Health. Mr. Stearns, chief engineer of the Board, has, as mentioned above, become the chief engineer of this water-supply scheme.

The most striking testimony to the practical value of the investigations of the State Board of Health is to be found in the steady and generous financial support rendered to it by the people, as well as in the frequent reference to it, by the legislature, of special and difficult problems for investigation. In order to enable the Board to serve as the expert adviser of the various cities and towns, the successive legislatures, since 1886, have appropriated to the use of the Board, for general investigations upon water-supply and sewerage alone, the sum of $242,000; and for special investigations of particular problems more than $100,000 more, as appears from the following table:—

APPROPRIATIONS MADE FOR INVESTIGATIONS (MAINLY) UPON WATER-SUPPLY AND SEWERAGE, BY THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1887–1895.

For investigations on the purification of sewage and water in order to protect the purity of inland waters	$242,000
For investigations and report upon a metropolitan system of sewerage	25,000
For investigations of the Charles River	8,000
For investigations of the Concord and Sudbury rivers	20,000
For investigations of ice-supplies	1,750
For investigations of the sewerage of Salem and Peabody	3,000
For investigations of the Neponset River	3,000
For investigations and report upon a metropolitan system of water-supply	42,500
Total	$345,250

The members of the Board serve wholly without pay, and the money goes to the salaries of engineers, chemists, biologists, and other experts; the pay of laborers; the purchase of chemical and other supplies; the buying of apparatus and instruments used in the work of investigation, etc. The central feature of the work is expert sanitary

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service based upon actual scientific investigation of the whole water-supply and sewerage problem, and its relations to life, health, and disease. The service takes the tangible form of advice to the various cities and towns of the State in regard to their systems of water-supply and sewerage. Less obviously, but not less truly, it consists in making more secure, day by day, the life, health, and comfort of every citizen.

Beyond the borders of the State, also, the results of the work of the Board, as recorded in its various reports and formal publications, are having a profound influence for good; and other States, as fast as their cities and large towns multiply so as to come into close proximity, must follow the example set by Massachusetts and work out for themselves their own sanitary salvation. The labors and triumphs of Massachusetts in this direction are known and valued all over the civilized world. Within a few months the aid of the Board was invoked for solving an especially novel and difficult problem by a distinguished sanitary authority of London having in charge the oversight of the water-supply of that great city; and the following words of appreciation from the editorial page of the London "Engineering" are only typical of many which might be given:

"We cannot speak too highly of the intelligence and care with which the experiments [on the purification of water and sewage] have been conducted, nor of the sound common sense and public spirit of the State of Massachusetts in providing the funds required for such a complete and thorough course of investigation, which has now extended over several years. . . . As far as we know there is only one State in the world that takes active steps to keep its citizens well informed as to what they owe to sanitary science, and as to what they may expect to gain from it in the future if they will only make the necessary outlay. This is the State of Massachusetts, the annual publications of the Board of Health of which are read not only locally, but in all English-speaking countries. It sets an example that might well be followed elsewhere, and of which it is sure to reap the benefit in the higher intelligence and the better health of the people. . . . Such a record of sanitary work is most honorable to a State having a population of only two and a half million souls."

W. T. SEDGWICK.

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PERCENTAGE OF KINDS OF MONEY RECEIVED BY UNITED STATES TREASURER AT NEW YORK

A = Gold Coin and Gold Certificates.
B = U. S. Notes.
C = Silver Coin and Silver Certificates.

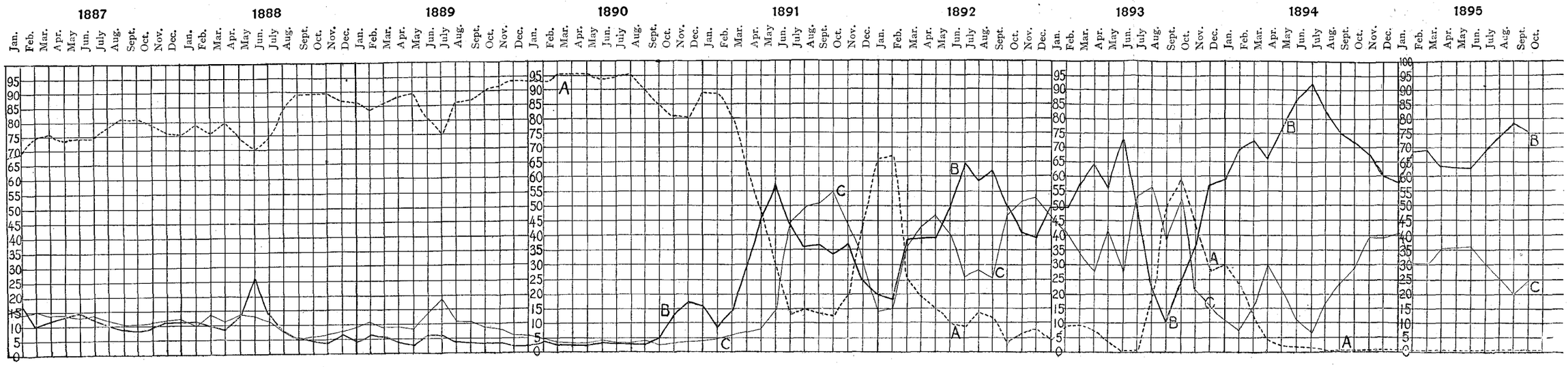
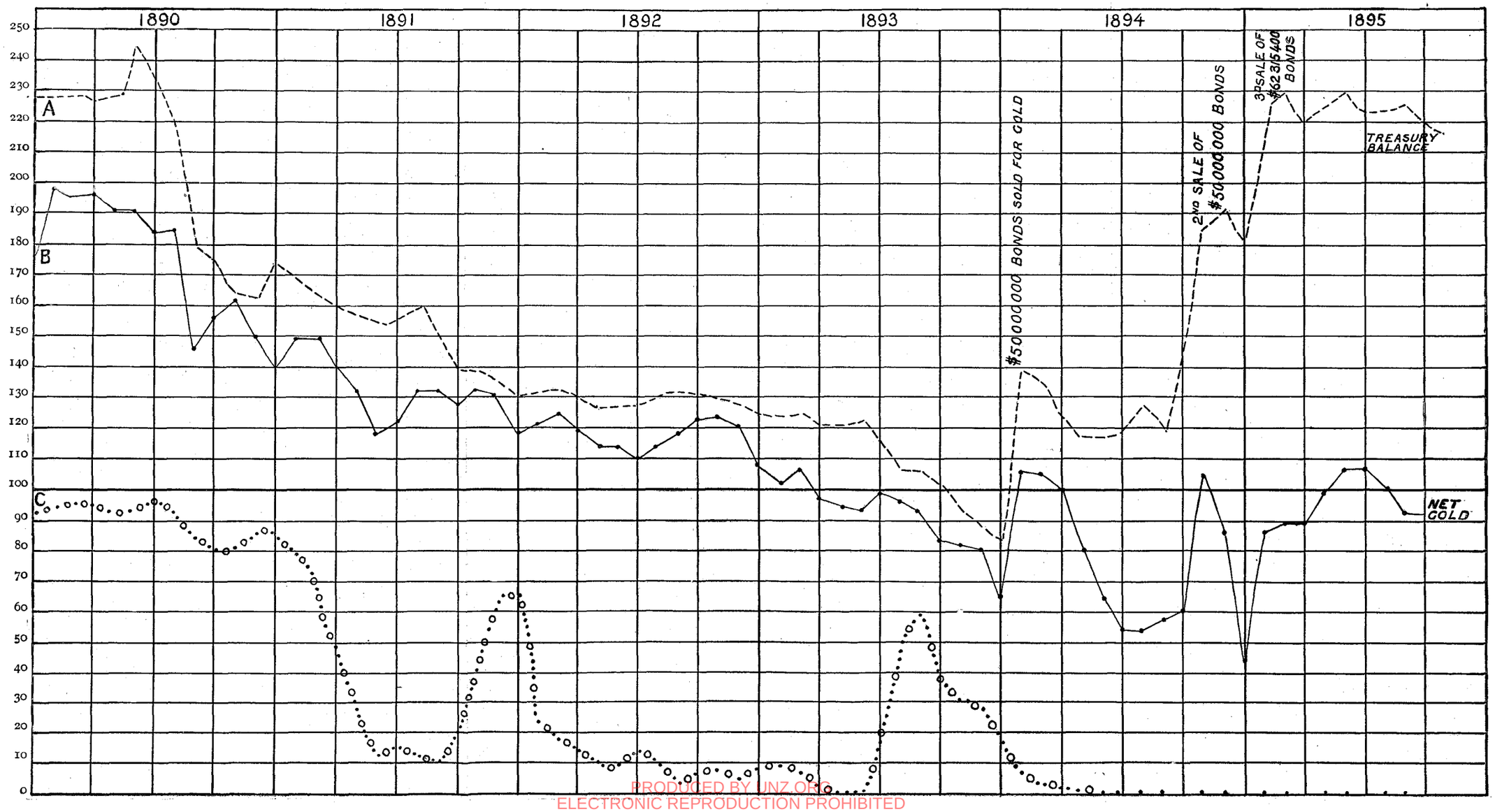


CHART II.

NET GOLD RESERVE AND TREASURY BALANCES.

A - - - - = Balance in excess of Certificates and Treasury Notes in the Treasury.
B —— = Net Gold in the Treasury.
C o–o– = Percentage of Gold received by Treasurer at New York.

[The figures in the scale indicate millions of dollars for lines A and B, and percentages for line C.]



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